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A

MEMOIR

OF

CENTRAL INDIA,

INCLUDING

M A L W A,

AND ADJOINING PROVINCES.

WITH

THE HISTORY,

AND COPIOUS ILLUSTRATIONS,

OF THE

PAST AND PRESENT CONDITION OF THAT COUNTRY.

86859

BY MAJOR-GENERAL

SIR JOHN MALCOLM, G.C.B. K.L.S.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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CHAPTER XIII.

Administration of Revenue.

BEFORE entering on this subject, it will be useful to examine to whom that soil, from which the revenue is produced, belongs, and under what tenure it is held by its occupants.

The tenures in Malwa, and adjoining provinces, differ in no essential degree from those of other parts of India, either as they relate to the rights of sovereign or subjects.

There are two parts of this question;—the theoretical, and actual usage. The former has, perhaps, received more consideration than it merits; the latter less.

In the theory even of this subject we must recollect, that, according to the Hindu sacred writers, the soil first belonged to him by whom it was occupied and tilled; for Kings, we are informed by these authors, were instituted subsequent to the cultivation of the soil, and the possession of

property; and we find it stated in their most revered texts, that at the commencement of Monarchy a due or tax of ten per cent.* upon the land was assigned to Monarchs for their support. This, no doubt, increased like other taxes, as their expenditure required, or as their power enabled them to infringe upon the rights and property of their subjects; and the Mahomedan conquerors of India, though they came from countries where (in defiance of tyranny) property of land, belonging to individuals, is tenaciously guarded, could not be supposed to have had any respect, beyond what necessity compelled them to have, for the interests or property of those whom they considered and treated as Infidels. But neither the bigotry, nor the despotism of these invaders, effected a change in the habits, institutions, or rights of the Hindu population of India. These were disturbed, but not destroyed. The Mahomedan Princes, no doubt, increased, in many parts, the land-tax, or Sovereign's share of the produce; and this constituted what they bestowed in grants† to their family

* There is a remarkable coincidence in the share of produce of land allotted for the first Hindu rulers, and the tithes fixed for the ministers of the Christian Church, which were borrowed from the Jewish code.

† These grants were various. Enam, or gift, commonly in perpetuity for charitable purposes;—Jaghire, usually an assignment of lands for service;—Altumgha, an estate in perpetuity for service, or free, as expressed in the deed.

and adherents; but the right of the cultivator to property in the soil was never disputed, and where the extreme of violence, or a series of revolutions, either extirpated or expelled the original inhabitants from districts or provinces (as was the case in many parts of Central India), the mere fact of occupation for two or three generations regenerated, to a certain extent, the rights of the cultivator, who claimed, as long as he could pay the Government share, the field that his father had tilled as his own and as the inheritance of his children. The claim was admitted by the worst of oppressors; but this description of cultivators did not obtain that right to sell their land which belongs to a great proportion of the proprietors of Southern India. The tenures upon which the soil of Malwa and adjoining provinces is held, have been greatly disturbed by a succession of revolutions. These provinces were amongst the most early subjected to Mahomedan power; and it would appear from their present population, that a great proportion of Hindus, of all tribes and classes, followed the conquerors from Hindustan. Subsequent invasions from Guzerat poured another tide over their plains, and almost all trace of their original inhabitants is lost. This country has, for upwards of a century, been subject to numerous petty usurpers, and has consequently been exposed to changes and oppressions far beyond what it could have experienced under one despot, who,

however he might abuse his own power, would have controlled that of others. But, fortunately, the bigotry of the Mahomedans, and the rapacity of the Mahrattas, alike understood and valued those ancient institutions, which render every village in India an independent and distinct community, ruled by its own officers within its own limits. These were respected when found; and when lost, through death or desertion of the inhabitants, were re-created; and we may, after the scenes which they have survived in Central India during the last thirty years, presume them to be indestructible, unless the hand of power is actually exerted to put an end to an establishment which has for ages formed the basis of all Indian government.

The lands in Central India are divided into governments,* containing from ten to forty districts†, each district having from fifty to upwards

* The large division, or government, though not in common use, still exists in the registers of the different States. Their limits are in these archives the same as when this country was under Delhi. So averse are the Mahrattas to any change of this nature, that I find from several Pottahs, or leases, granted A. D. 1820, which I have examined, villages described in the Pergunnah of Indore and Circar of Oojein. The former is the capital of Holkar; but it is still, according to usage, registered in the Circar of Oojein, belonging to the rival State of Sindia.

† Districts are called Pergunnahs, or Mahals. The latter,

of three hundred villages.* The next subdivision is a lesser district,† which may be estimated from five and six to twenty or thirty villages. The latter have often two, three, and four hamlets belonging to them, which are called, in the revenue account, dependencies.‡

The above are, in fact, the ancient divisions established by the Moghul Emperors; and though events have broken much of the uniformity§ of

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which is a Persian word, signifies also the ward of a town or city.

* The Pergunnah of Peeplowda has only ten villages, and a few others in Malwa have not more than twenty; but these are exceptions,—from seventy to eighty is the common number. Indore has three hundred and sixty-two villages;—Bhilsa no less than seven hundred and fifty; but this is an extraordinary instance. It was formerly a Circar, and has still the title, or record, of Circaree Alumgheer.

† The lesser district is called Talook, and sometimes Tuppah. In several parts of Malwa, as well as in the petty states of Baugur, the word Tuppah is used to designate the larger divisions. In Doongurpoor, the largest Tuppah contains one hundred and ninety-one villages, the smallest nineteen. And in Banswarra, the largest comprises two hundred and fifty villages, the smallest fifty-nine. In Doongurpoor there are subdivisions; but in Banswarra two of the Tuppahs are subdivided into Zillahs, which include from four to thirty-four villages.

‡ The large village is called in the accounts Usilla, or "the original;" the smaller ones, dependencies, Dokhilla, or "the incorporate."

§ According to the Institutes of Akber, a Soubah, or large

the original system, the names are still preserved, and used in accounts and official records.

All ground, be it ever so waste or hilly, is included in the divisions, which are marked by natural or artificial boundaries, such as rivers, watercourses, ranges of hills, trees, rocks, ridges, or lines between any two remarkable objects. The lands were measured, including the space occupied by tanks, wells, houses, &c. in the time of the Moghul government: and this record of measurement was lodged in the office of every Zemindar of a district, as well as the Furnavese's office. Several of these records have been saved; but where they are lost, the care with which the memory of the respective limits is preserved by the hereditary officers of the district and village, to whom this duty belongs, is very extraordinary. In Central India, where many large tracts have been desolated for twenty and thirty years, the inhabitants (in many cases the descendants of former occupants) have returned to their homes and fields, and taken possession of their respective properties (with very rare cases of dispute or difference), as if they had only left them for a few days. This could only have happened

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Government, should consist of twenty-two Circars, or petty Governments; a Circar, of twenty-two Pergunnahs; a Pergunnah, of twenty-two Tuppahs; and a Tuppah, of twenty-two villages: but we cannot suppose this exact division of land ever existed except in the Institutes.

where such institutions exist; and as these are the foundations of that revenue system, on which, in despotic governments, the happiness or misery of the population must chiefly depend, it will be necessary to take a short notice of the various links of which the district and village administration is constructed.

In Central India the first in rank and consequence of the native* or local hereditary officers is indiscriminately called Mundlooee, Chowdry, or Zemindar. The former terms are usually given in the Mahratta† governments; the latter almost always designates this officer among the Rajpoot states. The Zemindar, or Mundlooee.

In India, every class and tribe of men have their superior. That of landholders and cultivators is the Zemindar, a term which literally means landholder, and is (particularly in Central India) constantly used to designate a proprietor of the soil: but the Zemindar of a province or district, though, no doubt, originally raised by the rank and estimation in which he was held by his class, has always combined with his duties those of a function-

* The term Wuttundar, so fondly cherished by this class of hereditary officers as their distinctive appellation, means a holder of native or home rights.

† The principal Zemindar, Madhoo Row, at Indore, is termed Mundlooee. Thakoor Puddun Singh, at Oojein, is, however, termed Zemindar; and at Bhopal, the officer holding this station is styled Chowdry.

ary of Government. His station is hereditary; he is supported by a grant* of land, which differs in amount according to the size of the district and other circumstances; and he has, besides lesser dues, a per-centage† upon the collections, which, in Malwa, varies from four to eight per cent. He pays no revenue to the Government, but usually presents at the Dussera feast an offering to the Collector; and is subject, like others, to those demands which, under the head of extraordinaries, are imposed in an arbitrary manner by distressed or oppressive princes. The Zemindar (as has been mentioned) has a due‡ (generally one or two rupees) from every village in the district. He has also a trifling claim on each caste and trade: as a blanket from weavers; oil from oilmen; a pair of shoes from shoemakers, and so forth.

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* This species of grant to Zemindars and other hereditary local officers, is called Nankar, a compound Persian phrase of Nan "bread," and Kar "work," meaning support for service. Some of them in Malwa have rich endowments. The Zemindary of Nolye is estimated at above sixty thousand rupees per annum. Purtee Singh, the Mundlooee of Budnawur, a Pergunnah of the Dhar government, is a Rajpoot Thakoor, or chief, and besides his per-centage, or right on the Pergunnah, possesses the petty principality of Buckutghur. It has been the policy of the Mahrattas to reduce the power of these Zemindars. The old family of Indore Zemindars, though still affluent, are greatly reduced from that influence and power which they enjoyed under the Moghul government.

† This is called Damee. ‡ This due is called Bheit.

The duties of the Zemindar are to preserve order and peace (he is expected to maintain a body of armed adherents); and, by the influence of his station and character, he is, when there is difficulty in collecting the revenue, usually the medium through which it is realized; and, while Government employs his services, he is the person to whom the cultivators look up as their protector against any acts or power that are in violation of established usage.

The duties of this officer in the government of the country have been noticed in the preceding chapter. He has still more in the revenue department; and his office, kept by the Register*, which contains all records of grants of past and actual revenue, is the place of appeal both of Government officers and cultivators. Zemindars are expected to be men of education; and, indeed, their duties require efficiency in a degree that compels the inheritor of this office, when not competent, to devolve them upon a member of his family equal to their fulfilment.

The Zemindars in Central India are of all tribes, except the lowest. They, in general, can boast of having held their offices for a number of successive generations. Many have commissions from the Emperors of Delhi, and some from the

* The Register is in Central India termed Canoongoe, a compound Persian term of Canun, "Rule," and Go, "Speak thou."

Patan sovereigns of Malwa. Several distinctly trace their rise to local services, such as the restoration of waste lands*; some to the seizure or defeat of robbers who infested the country to which

* The following is the translation of a Sunnud, dated A.D. 1751, from Balajee Paishwah to Ramchunder Boscotta, granting the Sir Mundlooee rights in Nemaur, which he still holds, for a service of this description.

"The Circar of Beejaghur, in the Zillah of Nemaur and Soubah of Candeish, having been for a long period back a prey to the inroads of the Bheels, and having fallen into a ruined and depopulated state, jungles having overgrown the once-cultivated fields, I therefore ordered you to restore these Mahals to cultivation and inhabitants. Your exertions to fulfil my orders have been unremitting, and have been attended with success. You came to Poona, and petitioned the presence to this effect: 'I am an old servant of your Highness, and my family is numerous. I trust your Highness will afford me a suitable maintenance?' I have enquired, and find that you are an old and faithful servant of the government, and have rendered it many useful services; and I am satisfied that your exertions will continue to be employed for its welfare. With these favourable impressions towards you, I confer upon you, from this day, the right of Sir Mundlooee upon the revenue of the above-mentioned Circar. The following are the Pergunnahs comprehended in the gift of Sir Mundlooee (then follow the names of thirty-two Pergunnahs). The nature of the Sir Mundlooee, what I have now conferred upon you, is four per cent. upon the revenue arising from these Mahals, after the Sirdaishmookee and Wuttundaree rights have been deducted from it. I also constitute you the chief authority over these Mahals; and all agreements, accounts and papers of every description, relating to these Mahals, bearing your seal and signature, shall be considered valid, and the

they were appointed; while others have the more legitimate titles of being the heads of the clans and tribes by whom the tract was first settled and cultivated.

From there being no instance, in Central India, of any of this class possessing records, or even traditions, of any member of their family having power previous to the Mahomedan invasion, it

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annual accounts must be authenticated by your signature; and I direct that all officers, Zemindars, and others, belonging to these Mahals, shall pay to you the respect and obedience due to the chief authority, and all plans and arrangements that in any way regard the affairs of these Mahals shall be considered and adopted with your advice and consent. Besides the Sir Mundlooee of four per cent. I also confer upon you all the other rights comprehended in this appointment, such as Padry, Mottarh, Sayer, Rahdaree, Tahbazaree, and Mau," &c. &c.

1st. Padry is a sort of capitation-tax upon the different tribes and professions:—sixty-six are enumerated in this Sunnud, of which the oil-sellers, toddy-gatherers, iron-smelters, distillers, refiners of sugar, and Dhers, bear the highest tax, being one rupee on each family; while bow-makers, gunpowder manufacturers, perfumers, and gram-sifters, are among the lowest, being two annas:—others were assessed at an average of four and six annas annually.

2d. Mottarh, an assessment on trees yielding fruit, and intoxicating juices:—half an anna was levied on the Mangoe, on the Tamarind a quarter, and on the Mowa-tree half an anna annually.

3d. Rahdaree, a duty collected on cattle loaded with drugs; and

4th. Tahbazaree, an assessment on grain of a quarter of a seer from a bullock load, and a handful from the common-sized baskets used by the retail merchants.

might be conjectured that its Zemindars owe their establishment on their present footing to the Patan or Moghul monarchs. It is quite conformable to the usage of the country whence the conquerors came; and, while they appointed their own class to the government of provinces and districts, it must have been necessary, to inspire confidence in the inhabitants, (particularly the cultivators,) that a person they knew and trusted should be nominated as the medium of communication with them; but there can be little doubt that officers* with similar duties existed in India long previous to the Mahomedan invasion.

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* The office of Zemindar, Chowdry, or Mundlooee, probably is coeval with the Barah Balowtee, or village community. The following definition in several languages of the same, or nearly similar, office, is much in favour of its being long prior to the Mahomedan conquests.

IN MAHRATTA.

Dess-Mookh.—The Chief of the Country.

D css ye.—The Landlord.

IN CANARA.

Nat-Gowb.—The Head of the Land.

IN TAMOOL.

Nat-Am.—Ditto Ditto.

IN TELOOGOO.

Nat-i-Waroo.—Ditto Ditto.

IN CEYLON.

Dess-Ave.—Ditto Ditto.

IN HINDUSTAN.

Mundul-ooe, Mundul-eeh. — Mundul signifying, in the Hindwee, a circle or tract of country containing a certain number of villages.

In several of the large districts of Central India some of the Zemindars have an assistant, who acts by their orders, and occasionally as their substitute. His office is also hereditary, and he is paid as the Zemindars, but, with less land and smaller dues, he has an allowance (generally two per cent.) on collections.

The Register* of the district, though under the Zemindar, is an hereditary native officer of importance. His records contain every account relative to the revenue, measurement, and allotment of the land. He also enjoys a per-centage (generally two per cent.) on collections, and a due from every village, with small claims upon cultivators and tradesmen.

The Land-measurer† of the district is also a Wuttundar, but of lower rank. His duties, which consist in knowing boundaries, measuring and allotting lands, and settling disputes of cultivators regarding their respective fields, are paid by a small portion of land, and a due, generally of one rupee, upon each village. It is a remarkable fact, that in Central India, where there is but a small proportion of Mahomedan inhabitants, the Land-measurer is almost invariably of that persuasion; perhaps this may be accounted for, if it be the fact, as has been asserted, that land-measurement

The Land-measurer, or Mirdah.

* Canoongoe.

† The Land-measurer is termed Mirdah.

was first introduced by the Mahomedans; and there are good grounds of belief, that the ancient Hindu land-tax was estimated by the seed-grain, the crops on the ground, or by the number of ploughs employed, and not by any exact calculation of the quantity of soil in cultivation.

The Potail. The hereditary village officers, in most parts of Central India, differ little from the same description of officers in other quarters. The Potail, or head man of the village, is, in almost every district, deemed hereditary. There have been such frequent violent changes of rule in this country, that it is surprising to find so many of this class who can support their claim to the rights and lands they enjoy, for eight, nine, and ten generations. Where they are of more recent date, it is always found, on enquiry, either to proceed from the village being new, or, if an old one, having been so long desolate that all traces of its former Potails were lost. In such cases some person is made Potail* on agreeing to restore

* This may be instanced in the recent settlement in Bhopal of upwards of thirty villages, by Pindarries, whose chiefs were regularly constituted Potails. But the descendants, in some cases, of the original Potails have appeared, and been admitted as co-sharers in the rights and endowments of the office.

In cases where the rights of Potail are shared by more than one family, a managing Potail will always be found, who is usually raised to the executive duties of the office by the influence of the local officers of government.

or create a village; and the deed or grant constituting him Potail, fixes the quantity of ground he is to enjoy rent-free, and specifies his dues, and those of his successors, in this hereditary office.

The quantity of land enjoyed by a Potail is proportionate to the size of the village, and varies from ten to two hundred begahs.* The Potail has also a fee or due (generally in kind) from every field of grain, varying from two to eight seers† the begah of cultivated ground. He has also a small share on the sugar and opium produce of the lands of the village. He has other dues‡ and fines, which are regulated by usage, and vary according to the size and local situation of the village. It is not unusual for him to rent the whole of his village from Government; and this arrangement is deemed one of the best that can be made, both for the State and the pea-

* A Begah has been computed at one third of an acre, but its size differs in almost every province. The smallest Begah may perhaps be computed at one third, and the largest at two thirds of an acre.

† The Seer is about 2 lbs.; it varies from eighty to eighty-four Oojein rupees weight. A Table, shewing the exact weight of this and other coins, will be found in the Appendix.

‡ If a woman makes a second marriage, a fine (usually one rupee) is paid to the Potail. A small duty is paid to him on all loaded cattle that halt in the village. He has also a due on all shops, and articles manufactured in the village.

santry. The Potails never offer more than the lands can produce; and they seldom become renters, except when the Government is just and moderate.

There are many Potails in Malwa, who in prosperous times make, besides supporting themselves and family, from 500 to 1000 rupees profit from their free land and dues, and more than double that amount by cultivating their own or Government lands.

The hereditary lands and dues belonging to the local or rather native* officers, are highly prized; and in prosperous times used to sell (in the rare† cases that the party in possession consented to part with them) for ten, twelve, and fifteen years' purchase. Latterly, there have been very few sales‡,

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* The compound Persian term Wuttundar, means, as has been stated, a possession of home or native rights.

† The attachment of the possessors to these rights is indescribable. A Hindu Zemindar, in presence of all his tribe, said to me that it preceded his sense of religion. "I would "turn Mahomedan," he added, "twenty times, before I would "sell my Wuttunee," or native right.

‡ The following is the latest notice of such sale that I could find on the Indore record:—

"Bhopal Singh, Lal Singh, and Gummam Singh, Potails "of Indore, did in the year 1195 Fuzlee, A.D. 1788, of their "own free will, sell to Bukul Ghur Gossain about sixteen or "seventeen begahs of land, possessed by them in Enam, after "having duly registered the same in the Cutchery, or office, "of the Collector of Indore."

though there are continual instances of both lands and dues of Potails being mortgaged to creditors, and the bonds of mortgage for such property, signed by respectable witnesses, are among the most common securities in Central India. In such cases an agent of the creditor remains in the village, and collects the land revenue and imposts that have been made over to his employer.

The Potail, being the medium between the officers of Government and the inhabitants of his village, usually collects the dues of the former; it is his duty to enforce payment by such means as he may deem proper, provided they are sanctioned by usage. The Potails of Central India are of all castes. We find not only Mahomedans and Brahmins, but many Meewatties, Gosseins, and other tribes from Hindustan, by whom the villages to which these persons belong were no doubt originally peopled.

The Putwarry, or register of the village, is not always, in Central India, deemed an hereditary officer; he is often a Government servant, who enjoys land and dues under the Potail; and the latter, if respectable, in most cases when this situation is vacant, recommends an efficient person to fill it; and an accusation by the Potail, or villagers, of abuse of office or malversation, frequently suffices for his ejection. There are, however, exceptions to this rule, and some of the

The Putwarry.

Putwarries are not only hereditary, but can boast very old tenures for their office.

The Bullaye.

The Bullaye, or Dher of the village, though of low caste, is in Central India considered as one of the most important village officers. He is paid by a free grant of land, and some small fees on the produce of the village, from the cultivators of which, when the lands are not rented, he collects the revenue, and gives it to the Potail. The Bullaye ought not only to be acquainted with the name and quality of every inhabitant, but with his occupations and exact possessions. In short, he is, ex officio, the Potail's spy, and he reports all improper transactions that take place in the community. The Bullaye is expected to be informed minutely of every house, tank, well, tree, and field, appertaining to his village. He notes every land-mark and boundary, which he is expected to know either from tradition or observation. His evidence in all disputes about land is the most essential: he is the appointed guide of travellers through his limits, and must also carry all burdens that the Potail directs; but this is, if frequent, generally performed by persons of his family or tribe, who are settled in the village, and work also as labourers in cultivation.

The Pursaee.

The Pursaee, or Priest of the village, has sometimes a few begahs of land, and always petty fees at marriages, naming of children,

births, and funerals, where he officiates. He is also an astrologer, has an almanack, and some old potahs, or books, with the aid of which he foretells good and bad seasons, fixes the hour for sowing, and so forth. In Central India this class of Native officers seem little respected, are very poor, and chiefly support their families by travelling in the vicinity of their villages as mendicants.

The Choukeedar, watchman, is of consequence, or not, as the village happens to be situated. In some towns they have a trifling money-right upon travellers and cattle; which the Potail collects when there are no regular watchmen, or when the latter is paid, as is often the case, in money. The Choukeedar.

The carpenter, the blacksmith, the barber, and the washerman of the village, have in this country the same duties, and the same privileges, as in other provinces of India. They have often, but not always, small lots of land assigned them; but are paid by dues, or exclusive rights. There are in some of the districts of Central India (as in Guzerat) Puggees*, who have small fees on the village, and whose business is to trace thieves by the print of their feet.† To these may in some The Carpenter, &c.

* The word Puggee is derived from Pug, which in the Rangree dialect means "foot."

† The skill of many of these Puggees in Guzerat is very remarkable: they measure with a string every trace of the

instances be added a person called Paidhee, whose hereditary duty is to destroy wild animals. This office, however, seldom exists but in villages surrounded by wild and uncultivated tracts.

The rights of the Native hereditary officers of a village are much respected in Central India; and never did a country afford such proofs of the imperishable nature of this admirable institution. After the Pindarry war, every encouragement was held out for the inhabitants to return to their desolate homes. In several districts, particularly those near the Nerbudda, many of the villages had been waste for more than thirty years. The inhabitants, who had been scattered, followed all occupations: many Potails, who had been obliged to leave their lands, had become plunderers*, and remained at or near their ruined villages; some of their relations and friends followed their example; others cultivated grounds

impression of the foot, and make observations with a sense which practice renders very acute. The moment the object of their pursuit is traced to a village, the string and all the remarks are delivered to its Puggee, who pursues the chase till he finds the thief or murderer, or till he lodges him in another village. The numerous instances of extraordinary discoveries of criminals through this mode almost stagger belief.

* This was particularly the case in Nemaur and on the banks of the Nerbudda, where both Zemindars and Potails became plunderers, and found refuge in the jungles that were spread over the fields their fathers had cultivated.

at a distance of several hundred miles from their homes; while a great majority went to the large towns, where they found a temporary asylum, and obtained subsistence by labouring in gardens or fields. But there is no people in whose hearts the love of the spot where they were born seems more deeply implanted than the Hindus; and those of Central India, under all their miseries and dispersion, appear never for a moment to have given up the hope of being restored to their homes. The families of each village, though remote from each other, maintained a constant communication,—inter-marriages were made, and the links that bound them together were only strengthened by adversity. When convinced that tranquillity was established, they flocked to their roofless houses. Infant Potails* (the second and third in descent from the emigrator) were in many cases carried at the head of these parties. When they reached their villages, every wall of a house, every field was taken possession of by the owner or cultivator, without dispute or litigation amongst themselves or with Government; and in a few days every thing was in progress, as if it had never

* I had conversations with several of these communities, both when on the road, and after they reached their homes; and gave during the year 1818, as a mark of encouragement, turbans to more than a hundred Potails who returned to their desolate villages.

been disturbed. There was seldom any difficulty from the claims of other occupants; for local authorities, which appeared to hesitate at no means that promised profit, rejected the most advantageous offers from new settlers, while a hope* remained that an hereditary officer or cultivator who had claims to the management or cultivation

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* I was very anxious that the village of Bassee, which is situated between the cantonment of Mhow and Jaum, and which had been abandoned for thirty-six years, should be re-peopled. I brought the principal Bheel, Teza Turwęe of Myaya (a village near it), to consent to cultivate the lands on a favourable lease,—and Nattoo Ram, the Putwarry of Main, was to have the management. The local importance of the object was considerable, as Teza was a noted freebooter, and it ensured his reform and that of his adherents. But Tantia Jogh, Holkar's minister, though he acknowledged all this, and was most anxious to put the plan in execution, told me he was compelled not only to consult the Zemindars of the Pergunnah, but to institute every search to discover whether the descendant of the Potail, or any Wuttundar of the village of Bassee, existed; "for if they did," he added smiling, "[illegible]n we Mahrattas, bad as we are, cannot do any thing that interferes with their rights." The search was made, but no one found, and my recommendation was adopted, but with a reservation, that, if the heir of the former Potail was discovered, he should be reinstated. There were, it was discovered, some traces of the family in Sondwarra, from whence they originally came; and a few weeks before I left India, a boy was found with claims which had led to his being invited to come and settle as Potail of the village of his fathers, which even the Bheel who had been nominated to it, was forward to resign to the rightful inheritor.

of its lands, was likely to return. The worst of these rulers are not insensible to the necessity of preserving from injury this admirable and well-constructed foundation of their civil government and revenue system.

There is, in many of the countries adjoining Malwa, particularly in the hilly tracts on its Eastern* boundary, as well as in the Western pro-

* Mr. Molony, speaking of the territories lately ceded by the Regent of Nagpoor, states, that in Gurrah Mundlah there are no hereditary district officers, called Zemindars; that appellation being given only to the descendants of the Jaghiredars of the old Native government,—and these have a stronger hereditary connexion with the land than any other class. Many of them are Gonds, who are considered the only indigenous portion of the population; and some have large Talooks, or districts, while others have only single villages. They may be regarded as proprietors of their own estates, but have no office or station similar to that of the Chowdries or Daishmookhs. The only hereditary district officer is the register or accountant, and is called Beohar, and sometimes Gomashta, and is always of the Kait, or Kaist tribe. The heads of villages are called Potail or Gurtul, the use of the one term or the other depending on caste. But amongst the Gonds the term is Bhow, and their villages seem to be much on the same footing as those of Bagur, and probably the cause of their Wuttunnee, or Native rights, may be the same in both cases, viz. that the Bheels in the latter, and the Gonds in the former, form the indigenous population. But, again, the Gond cultivators (Mr. Molony adds) have no more Wuttunnee or Native rights than their Potails, while the Bheels in Bagur are tenaciously attached to their hereditary rights.

vince of Bagur, a very considerable difference in the constitution of the village government. The petty officers, who form it, have seldom either those appellations or rights, which they have in more settled districts; but this is to be accounted for from the character and condition of the population, and the violent changes to which they have been subjected. In Bagur, for instance, there can be little doubt that, before the invasion of the Rajpoots, who are its present masters, the great majority of the inhabitants were Bheels; and the conquerors appear neither to have perpetuated the institutions of that tribe, nor to have desired, to trust

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Captain M'Donald states, that in Kantul, which borders on Malwa, no officer similar to the Zemindar or Mundlooe exists. In Bagur the Potails have no land rent free: no fees, dues, or shares of any portion of the land produce; but they are free from exactions, and when rents are collected, a small remission of rent is made in their favour. In Kantul the Putwarries have only a fixed monthly salary paid by Government. In the rented villages this officer is nominated and paid by the renter.

In the villages of Doongurpoor, Bullawa is the term given to the person exercising the duty of Bullaye. He is always a Bheel taken from the wilder hordes that dwell in the Jungles; and he unites with the duties of Bullaye those of watchman or Choukeedar. He is not supposed to be acquainted with land-marks, but he escorts all merchandize or property to the boundaries of his village. He is subsisted by a small spot of land rent free. The Pursaee is termed Ganmote in Pertaubghur, and Josee in Doongurpoor.

their new subjects with that influence and weight which belong to the district and village community where permanently established.

The settled and more respectable hereditary cultivators* of Central India have still many privileges, and enjoy much consideration; their title to the fields their forefathers cultivated is never disputed, while they pay the Government share. If they are unable, from age, or want of means, to till their field, they may hire labourers, or make it over to another person, bargaining with him, as they like, about the produce; but the field stands in the Government book in the name of its original tenant. In general a fixed known rent, and established and understood dues, or fees, are taken from such persons, beyond which all demands are deemed violence and injustice. These, however, have been of late so universal, that the condition of the hereditary cultivators, as compared with others, has been little enviable. Still their attachment to the fields their forefathers tilled, and the trees they planted, leads them to endure much; and, when they are compelled by extreme oppression to move, they are generally brought back, as it is considered the greatest misfortune that can befall a country to lose its hereditary husband-

* Cultivators in Central India are termed Kursans, a name which distinguishes them as a specific class from Ryots, or peasantry, which is a more general term, including all ranks.

men. Many of this class in Central India, notwithstanding changes and oppressions, arrive at very considerable wealth, and employ as many as forty and fifty ploughs.* These rent villages, and speculate in waste lands, which they take, when they possess the means of reclaiming them, on leases for a certain number of years.

Rich cultivators often take on mortgage part of the fields belonging to the hereditary officers of the village. It is also common for them to expend money in making a well, on a previous agreement, by which they receive, in free grant, a quantity of good and waste ground, proportionate to an expenditure, which is so beneficial to Government, as it doubles and trebles the future revenue, by introducing irrigation.

The above description of peasantry are in Malwa and adjoining provinces called Junna Kursan, or old or native cultivators†; but this term only applies when they cultivate the lands of the village they inhabit. If they cultivate, as they often do, other lands, they are called Pyekushtee, or travelling cultivators. When they till lands upon the latter terms, they possess no

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* This implies cultivation of land from one thousand to twelve hundred and fifty begahs, as one pair of oxen can till twenty-five begahs.

† The terms by which they are known are Junna and Wuttunnee Kursan, which means old and native cultivators.

rights beyond their agreement, which seldom extends to more than five years. In countries like Central India, where for many years the population has been thin, and a great quantity of ground uncultivated, this class has, in general, received much more liberal treatment than the old and settled cultivators. The fact is, that with oppressive rulers, the pressure upon the husbandman is proportionate to what he will bear: nothing but the extreme of hardship could drive the native cultivator from the fields of his father; but to make him labour in other lands, he requires to be tempted with a prospect of greater profit.

Sookwassee.

The next class of cultivators in Central India, are termed Sookwassee, seekers of protection. These are cultivating labourers, who settle, as the name implies, for one, two, and three, or more years, where they expect to be best treated. They are usually men who have been driven from their homes by war, pestilence, tyranny of rulers, quarrels with their relations, or from some serious misfortune. They have no immunities or rights, and are much at the mercy of those by whom they are employed. It is a melancholy comment upon the past condition of Central India, that a great proportion of its husbandmen are of this class; but the competition which now exists for cultivators, though it makes numbers leave their condition of hereditary Kursans, or husbandmen, must terminate in the restoration of many

waste tracts; and, finally, to the better settlement of these peasantry, with all the immunities which they are now induced, by oppression on one hand, and interest on the other, to renounce.

Khasagee, or Royalty Villages, Jaghires, &c.

Royalty villages in Central India belong personally to the Prince. These are generally managed by officers quite distinct from those of the Government, and the accounts are kept in the private office of the ruler. The revenues of Jaghire (assignment either feudal or allodial to princes or nobles), or Serinjam (temporary grants for the support of troops), Enam or Nankar (free gifts), generally hereditary, to dependent favourites, and to district and village officers; Khyraut or charitable grants (in perpetuity) to holy persons, or as endowments to religious establishments, are either collected by their respective proprietors, or rented to any person, native or foreigner, who agrees to give the sum demanded.* Such aliena-

* From observing that the alienation of land in Central India, on account of Wuttundar rights, petty engagements, and for charitable purposes, was very considerable, I desired the village of Belloda, near Dhar, to be measured, and that an account should be sent to me of the allotment of its lands. I found that it contained three thousand two hundred and seventy-nine begahs, of which seven hundred and seventy-seven begahs, fourteen beeswas †, were waste, occupied by the village and water-courses, or allotted for grass and pasture, and

† Beeswa, as the name implies, is the twentieth part of a Begah.

tions appear to have taken place to a very great extent in some of the districts of Central India.

Although the lands were assessed differently by the Mahratta governments, according to the character of the person who exercised power, the mode of realizing the revenue varied little, as far as it related to the collections from the cultivators. Buttye, or payment in kind, is very unusual, except with the Rajpoot principalities; almost all the subjects of the Mahratta states pay in money. The basis on which the settlements were generally founded, was a measurement of the Khureef, or first crop, when it is cut down, and of the Rubbee, or second, when it is about half a foot high, and is renewed every third year. This measurement is made with a

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no less than five hundred and fifty-three begahs were alienated, leaving only one thousand eight hundred and forty-five begahs which pay rent, and of that amount three hundred and twenty-eight begahs were fallow, so that the alienations, of which I received a minute account, amounted to more than one third of the soil that is productive to the state. The only grants in this village that appear excessive, are those to Brahmins, of one hundred and seventy-two begahs, and one hundred and fifty begahs, to two Jemadars and five Choukeedars; but the latter is the pay of these men, who are in fact the hereditary Sebundies, or soldiers of the village. I subsequently obtained other statements of the appropriations of village lands in different parts of the country, and found from them that the distribution of lands as above stated in the case of Belloda was not an unfair example.

coarse rope divided into yards.* The common begah of Central India is a square of sixty Guz Illahee, or royal yards. The cultivated fields have each of them a name, generally from some natural or artificial land-mark; as the mango-tree field, the five-tree field, the sweet-well field, the brackish-well field, the sheep field; and they are often called by the name of the person who first brought them into cultivation; Ramjee's field, Omeid Singh's field. The latter appellation is more common, as it marks the ancestor of a cultivator; and on the loss of a grant or a lease, forms part of that claim to the land, which the husbandmen of Central

* The Mirdah, or land-measurer, must measure with a standard yard, or Guz, with the seal of the principal town of the district affixed to it. The Illahee Guz, as fixed by Akber (vide Ayeen Akbery, 4to. Ed. Vol. 1. p. 354) is the one used. It has been before stated, that under the Moghul government, every spot of soil, as well as the buildings, rivers, tanks, and wells, were measured; a partial commencement of this excellent system has been made, as preparatory to the allotment of lands for cultivation. In almost all the Pergunnahs of Nemaur, there has been no measurement of lands, except of Enam land, for the last century. The fields which are registered and named, are rented and tilled according to usage and former produce.

The occurrence of some disputes in our districts led me to direct a partial measurement, which created great uneasiness among the inhabitants; who treated it as an innovation, and claimed as a privilege their right to their fields as they stood in the books of the Canoongoe, or register of the district.

India term, emphatically, Jeeta Sunnud, or a living title-deed, implying thereby, that their right to the fields they till is living in the knowledge or the memory, or in the traditions of the old inhabitants of their village.

When the lands are managed by the Government officers, and usage is attended to, a village settlement is in general made through the Potail. When rented, the renter, or rather those* to whom he under-rents the different districts and villages, trust for their profit to more minute interference; and though they may not be able to go on without the aid of the Potail, they frequently make separate agreements with almost every cultivator; or in other words, what is termed a Ryotwar settlement.

Neither the produce of the land, in Central India, the seasons, nor the mode of cultivation, differ in any considerable degree from those of other parts of India. The first of Bysack (April), which is the commencement of the agricultural year, is, with the cultivators, a day of rejoicing, as on it they commence their labours. The seed is usually sown by a drill plough, early in June, after the first fall of rain. This employs them for more than a month, and is a time of inces-

* It is a common usage in Malwa, as in other provinces of India, for a man of property to rent large countries, which he under-rents in districts and villages to others.

sant exertion. The busy occupations of the village community are increased at this period, from its being the one when persons interested in the crops give seed, make advances for purchases of bullocks, and settle for the rent of each field.

After the grain has risen six or eight inches high, women and children are employed in weeding, and a rude harrow is passed over the field three or four times; and in the beginning of September, when most of the grains are ripe, the governor or collector of the district sends for the persons who have had the management, or have rented the different lands, to make payment of the
First Kist. first of the four Kists, or instalments, in which the revenue is paid. A request of fifteen or twenty days' grace is generally made; and this, custom has entitled them to receive. They afterwards proceed, or send agents, to the different villages, to collect from the cultivators. If the husbandman is able to pay his rent in cash, he takes the chance of the market for his grain; and this course is the most profitable for him, otherwise he must have recourse to the common practices of borrowing at high interest, or selling at low prices. In October the cultivators are busy in reaping the remaining crops of the preceding season. The same description of settlement is
Second Kist. made then, as in September, for the payment of the second instalment.

In districts where Jowary* is the chief produce, the first crop is the principal and the only one; and in these, instead of the collection of four instalments, the whole revenue is paid in November, at the end of the harvest.

In the month of November the ground is prepared for the Rubbee, or second crop: the opium, the sugar-cane, and the grains of this crop, are planted in December. They are reaped, except the sugar-cane (which takes a complete year to ripen), in three or four months.

In the month of February the third Kist, or instalment, of the Rubbee harvest, is made; and by the end of March, the lease (which closes the Jummabundy, or settlement for the year) is completed.† Third Kist.

In Central India, rice, which is not the food of the lower classes, is only abundant in the countries of Doongurpoor and Bhopal. The chief grains of the first crop are jowary, and Mukaee, or Indian corn‡; in the second, wheat and gram.§ The soil is, throughout

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* Holcus Sorghum.

† The above applies to a great part of Central India; but the number, as well as the dates of the payment of Kists, vary in different districts. In Pertaubghur there are only three Kists: the first in November, the second in January, and the last in May. In Bagur there are two Kists only: the first in November, and the second in March.

‡ Zea, Maize. § Phaseolus Mango.

the greater part of this country, very rich, and manure is not required, except for tobacco, sugar-cane, and opium; for all which it is requisite in great quantities.* Fields of Indian corn, barley, and turmeric, when near villages, are sometimes manured, to increase and improve the produce.

Rents of land.

The rents of land in Central India vary in almost every district. The revenue, as has been stated, is usually paid in money; and, though the dues of the Zemindar, Canoongoe, and Potail, and all district and village officers, are fixed in kind, it is clearly understood, that neither a collector nor renter has a right, unless a previous agreement is made, to demand a Buttye, or grain settlement, which is, in some cases, the only one the Collector can make. This, however, only occurs in the poorest districts. When a Buttye settlement is agreed upon, the common usage is, after setting apart the seed and pay for labourers†, to divide the produce into two, four, or five shares: sometimes the Government takes one half, at others two fifths,

* The usual estimate of manure for a begah of opium or sugar-cane, is two rupees.

† This is called Khad. It is the grain given for the support of the cultivator, and the families and labourers employed during the harvest. The amount is settled according to the custom of the village; and a certain proportion of the coarser grain is served out to each individual.

and, if moderate and just*, only one fourth; leaving, in all cases, to the cultivator, the payment of dues† to the Potail and all the officers of his village. This system is almost limited to the petty Rajpoot states West of the Chumbul.

In money settlements, the assessments fixed by the first Mahratta princes in Central India were uncommonly moderate. These assessments varied according to the soil and the produce in every district. Irrigated lands, which produce good crops of opium and sugar-cane, always rented from five and six to eight and ten rupees per begah‡; garden grounds are nearly as high.§ These rich lands are usually divided into fields, hedged

* Alia Bhye, in the districts where she made a Buttye settlement, is stated to have never taken more than one-fourth.

† This varies. In some countries not only the Zemindar's, the Canoongoe's, but the Potail's, and all other shares, are taken out of the gross amount before the division between the Government and cultivators.

‡ The common begah in Central India is sixty guz square, which, taking the guz at thirty-two inches, is fifty-three yards one foot. This makes the contents three thousand two hundred English yards, very nearly two-thirds of an English acre. But the guz used in land-measure is often not more than twenty-eight inches, which reduces the begah to about half an acre. In some parts of India the begah is not more than a third; but, as has been said before, its size differs in every province.

§ Among the causes which affect the rent of irrigated fields, the quality of the water is an essential one, some springs and streams being by the natives considered more favourable to successful irrigation than others. This is particularly the case in

in, and watched with great care: the rents are now in many parts double what they formerly were; but this is not more than the increased price of the produce will bear. The same may be said of other productions. The black soil of Malwa was, in Alia Bhye's time, seldom reckoned as producing more to Government than one rupee; or, when cultivated with the best crops, and near to a good market, one rupee eight annas *, per begah. It is now usually assessed at two rupees, and two rupees eight annas; but the price of grain is more than doubled, so that the present rents may be considered as moderate as the former. The fact is, that neither the Mahratta nor any other Hindu government have ever been immoderate in their assessments. Twenty-five, or at the utmost forty per cent. of the produce (after deduction of seed and labour) is as much as they consider it just to levy directly as revenue; but this is a small part of what, even in good times, falls upon the cultivators. The latter have to pay, besides contributions, all the claims and dues of the district and village superiors. They must support and give forage to Government officers who visit or travel through their village;

the cultivation of opium. Some water, they affirm, gives a high flavour to that drug, while that from other wells (though apparently as good) does not.

* There are sixteen annas in the rupee.

and last of all, they must bear that dreaded charge of Tuffreck, or contingencies, which is open to almost every species of abuse, and is trifling or large as the Government is just or oppressive. A table formed from the village accounts at Nalcha, which is given in the Appendix*, will shew pretty accurately the agricultural details of twenty-five begahs of different kinds of soil, and the various charges to which a cultivator is subjected.

The terms† given to cultivators in Malwa, who have recently agreed to take waste land, have been regulated by the soil, and the time it has been fallow. Lands, that have been only a short time out of cultivation, are calculated to recover in one or two years; while others require

* Vide Appendix, No. IV.

† The inhabitants of the district of Nalcha, which has been desolate only eighteen years, and the soil of which is remarkably good, are quite content with receiving the lands from the Dhar state rent free for the first year; four annas for the second, eight the third, twelve the fourth, and one rupee the fifth; after which the lands become liable to the Kumal Jummah, or full assessment.

The waste district of Maunpoor, belonging to Dowlet Row Sindia, (twelve miles S.W. of Mhow,) which has been desolate for upwards of thirty years, and is much overgrown with jungle, has been re-inhabited in consequence of the Government agreeing to give to its former cultivators, or rather (with few exceptions) their descendants, the lands free for three years, and after that the same progressive rise as at Nalcha till the seventh year.

a much longer period. In many tracts lately restored to cultivation, the settlement made is only for the actual land-rent, leaving all other taxes, ordinary and extraordinary, to be fixed hereafter, according to usage. This usage is found to vary in almost every district; but it is always well understood* both by the husbandmen and their superiors.

The lands of the Mahratta princes are usually rented; and as many of the renters are either bankers, or men supported by that class, they have acquired, and maintain an influence, both in the councils of the State, and the local administration of the province, that gives them great power, which they solely direct to the object of accumulation.

The richest bankers mix in the petty revenue details of the smallest village: the advance they make for seed to cultivators who cannot afford to keep a store of grain, is considered less a loan, than the subscription of a certain portion of stock for a share in the profit. They claim, by usage, in good seasons, one and a half for one, or fifty per cent. in kind; but this claim is liable to deduction on partial failure.

* A want of attention to these local usages, and a desire to regulate our administration by general rules, often in direct violation of them, has sometimes the effect of rendering the British government more unpopular than it would become through acts of tyranny and injustice.

They sometimes, indeed, deem themselves fortunate in obtaining payment of what they advanced; and the entire loss of that is not unfrequent when crops are destroyed, for the cultivators are, in general, too poor to give them much hope of recovering the amount. The grain which bankers give for the support of the husbandmen, their families and labourers, with whom they have engagements, during the harvest months, is also returned in kind—sometimes at one and a half, but more frequently* one and a quarter seer, for every seer that has been advanced. This connexion between the most sordid† of all the natives

* The reason given for the rate of interest being lower upon this advance than the one for seed is, that the seed includes opium, and the valuable grains, wheat, gram, &c. and that the hazard, both in the price and the keeping such in store for the year is much more considerable than what is incurred on the small advances made of low-priced grain, such as millet and Indian corn, with which they supply the labourer for food. For money advanced to purchase bullocks, or implements of husbandry, the common charge of interest is two per cent. per mensem, which is not immoderate, considering the risk incurred by the bankers.

† Many of the Soucars and Bunnias of Central India have departed from the cautious habits which belong to their tribe; and, taking a character from the hazardous times in which they lived, have become desperate speculators and gamblers. The practice of Cowrie Sath Souda has been, and still is, very common. It consists of one Soucar, or Bunnia, giving another, before the harvest, a Cowrie, as a pledge that he will pay him a specific price, at a certain date, for a specific quantity of

and the industrious cultivators, has generally the effect of keeping the latter poor, but saves them from ruin; which would involve a loss of all the bankers had ventured on the produce of their labour.

The leases of countries under the Mahratta Governments in Central India, were formerly often for a period of ten, twelve, and even twenty and thirty years; which gave the renter an interest in the improvement of the country, beyond what he can have under a short lease. The respect for some renters has been so great, that large districts have been, throughout the most troubled periods, rented to their families. Thus, the rich districts of Mundissor and Katchrode have been held for nearly seventy years by the same family.* Many

grain. No papers pass; but the grain is entered in the books of both as bought and sold. When the period arrives, the parties settle. Sometimes the grain is given, but the difference is generally paid, as in stock-jobbing concerns, which this nearly resembles. Respectable rulers discountenance and forbid this species of gambling, which takes a more pernicious form when it extends to the Zemindars and cultivators. When such are distressed by a demand of advances, or any other cause, they apply to one of these gambling money-bankers, who agrees to take their grain for the ensuing year at a fixed rate; and all kinds of frauds and arts are practised to make the concern ruinous to the landholders, who often part with their crops for a little ready money, at half or two thirds of their value.

* The present renter, Appah Gunghadur, his father Wuttobah, and his grandfather Baloubah, have been the real renters; though, till within a few years, the name of Rahim

of the under-renters in these countries have had leases for thirty, forty, and fifty years, of different villages; and it is to this system that they owe their prosperity. Nolye, a neighbouring district to Katchrode, has been rented by the Brahmin family of Boscottah for more than thirty years. These are, however, exceptions to the general system of Dowlet Row Sindia, whose other possessions change masters every year, and sometimes oftener. Under Holkar's government the renting system formerly prevailed; and it was the usage of Alia Bhye to grant long leases. At present, the greatest proportion of the lands are under the management of Government officers, and will probably remain so till they have regained that condition at which a fair valuation of their revenue can be made. These remarks upon the usage of renting lands apply equally to Dhar and Dewass, as to those of Sindia and Holkar.

The land of Malwa Proper is perhaps as good as any in India, being almost all black rich soil. There are many rivers and small streams in this province; but irrigation being less requisite here than in almost any country in India, their water

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Beg and his son were in the Pottahs, or leases, as nominal managers. This fine country was committed by Madhajee Sindia to Adil Beg; and Baloubah, the grandfather of the present renter, from being the Dewan and sole manager of this chief, was soon looked upon by the Durbar as the responsible man.

is little used for that purpose. There are few tanks, but many wells, which supply garden grounds, and opium and sugar-cane fields, as well as those of barley, Indian corn, and other grains that require water. Wheat, jowary, &c. are sometimes irrigated, and the produce is much increased; but a great proportion of such grains depend entirely on rain, which generally commences early in June, and continues, with intermission, to the end of September.

It is a remarkable fact, attested by numbers of the older and most respectable inhabitants of Malwa and its adjoining provinces, that though the crops have been diminished by too much or too little rain, though they have often suffered severely from sharp cold winds and frosts, which blight them, a complete failure is not within the memory of man; nor does any record of it exist. Grain, from incidental causes, has been at times dear, but, except when actually destroyed by armies, it has always been in sufficient quantity to support the inhabitants, who have never, except from the consequences of war, been exposed to the most dreadful of all human miseries — a famine.* This they impute

* In A. D. 1803 and 1804, when the whole country was overrun by horse, almost all cultivation ceased; and what little grain was sown, was destroyed when on the ground; a famine (during which a great number perished) was the consequence.

to the great variety of the grains produced, to the comparative mildness of the climate, the richness of the soil, and their principal crops being raised without irrigation.

By a comparative table, made in 1817, of different grains in the provinces to the North and South of the Nerbudda, it appears, that at the most Western towns* of the valley of the Nerbudda, grain sold cheaper than in any part of Malwa or Nemaur. Seventeen years ago, wheat and gram were sold at fifty and sixty seers the rupee: other grains at sixty; and some† at one hundred and twenty seers the rupee. Twenty-six years ago, it is asserted that Chutta Khan, the Dewan of Bhopal, bought wheat and gram at the unheard-of price of one hundred and twenty seers the rupee; but this was less, perhaps, from abundant produce than his strict regulations to prevent exportation, in order to secure its being sold at such rates as would enable him to keep up an army without ruin to the revenue. These facts will shew that Central India is very productive. The soil in few parts requires much labour; its present want is cultivators, and many years must elapse before they are sufficiently numerous to restore to prosperity the wide tracts of waste lands throughout this fine country.

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* Seonee and Tombrornee. † Jowary.

The rent of land, in all the districts of Central India, is fixed according to its soil and situation. In Shujahalpoor*, cotton land varies in the rent paid to Government, from four rupees eight annas, to one rupee twelve annas, according as it is low and well irrigated, or high and stony. The rent† of a begah of rich ground, for the common grain of jowary, is four rupees; while light unwatered land only lets for one rupee and eight annas. Sugar-cane, which can only be produced in irrigated land, pays, according to the description of the plant, from four to seven rupees the common begah.‡ The expenses of cultivating one begah of white sugar-cane, calculated for three seasons, one good, one tolerable, and one indifferent, are shewn by a table§ in the Appendix. A second crop

* Many of the minute facts relating to the institutions, soil, and produce of this district, and those of Bhopal, are from observations made on the spot by Lieutenant Johnson, a very intelligent officer employed under Major Henley.

† I find it stated in answer to a query regarding the usual rent taken in the Holkar territories during the time of Alia Bhye, that the best-irrigated garden-ground was seldom let for more than four or five rupees per begah; that good wheat-land, but not watered, was from one rupee four annas to one eight per begah. The demand of the Government beyond this seldom exceeded one or two annas per begah.

‡ I use the term "common begah," as in some districts the begah is almost double the size. The common begah may be averaged at half an acre.

§ Vide Appendix, No. V.

from the old roots of the sugar-cane is assessed at half of what is paid for the first crop.

The mode of preparing the ground and compressing the sugar is no way different from that so often described in other parts of India. Opium is also irrigated, and prepared in the same manner as in Behar and other provinces. The juice is gathered from the poppy in a small brass pot, or cocoa-nut shell, containing a little linseed oil: it is next pressed together in larger pots, and left in the linseed oil, till after the rainy season, when it is removed, and being formed into flat cakes of about three or four inches diameter, and one thick, and well sprinkled with the dried leaves of the poppy, is exposed under shade to the air, till sufficiently dry for sale. It is seldom adulterated* till it passes into the hands of the retail merchants. The average price of prepared opium was, twenty years ago, from five to six rupees the seer of eighty rupees weight. The rate paid to Government for each begah is regulated by the nature of the soil, the last crop upon it, the facility of irrigation, and whether solely appropriated for opium or a mixed crop, the latter paying only from one and a half to three or four rupees, the former often from five to ten rupees, the begah; but,

* The modes of adulterating opium are various. Pounded leaves, catechu, cow-dung, coarse sugar, and many other ingredients, are used for this purpose. They are easily detected by incineration.

though this is high, the culture of opium and sugar-cane, which is never undertaken but by substantial cultivators, is deemed the most profitable of all the branches of husbandry. An estimate of the expenses and profits of the cultivation of this drug is given in the Appendix.*

Among the cultivators in Malwa, a rich Potail has one or two mares, from which he sometimes breeds, and sells their produce; but this is rare. Cattle, cows, and buffaloes, are kept by all who can afford them; they add to their means of living, and of paying their revenue, as they send to market what they have, beyond their wants, of milk, butter, and ghee, a species of clarified butter. This, deducting the costs of the animals, is clear profit; for, though they usually keep a small preserve† of pasture, near their fields, for their cattle, these graze at large during the greatest part of the year, in the waste lands, without paying any duty to the Government. Sheep are pastured near the village by the shepherds, who invariably form part of the inhabitants: upon these, when sold in flocks, as well as upon bullocks, a tax is paid. This, however, is never taken upon cows. In Hindu governments, it would be deemed sacrilege to take duty either upon the sale or transfer of that sacred animal.

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* Vide Appendix, No. VI.

† These preserves are called Bheer in Central India.

In the fields, forests, and jungles, belonging to the lands of a village, trees that produce fruit or intoxicating liquor, and such as the Am (mango) and Mowa* (Bassia latifolia), are either the property of individuals, or rented; but in either case, the Government retains a right to fruit and timber. The intoxicating drink from the Mowa, and all spirituous liquors, pay a distinct tax to the Government, or the person who rents or manages the village. From the forests, if the wood is valuable, a considerable tax is levied.

When the Mahrattas first invaded Malwa and its adjoining provinces, their first collections were similar to those made by this predatory nation over all India. But, since they have

* The products of this tree are of singular and general use: the flowers are of a nature very extraordinary, differing essentially from almost every other plant, not having in any respect the usual appearance of such, but rather esembling berries, falling spontaneously as they ripen. They are gathered and dried by a few days exposure in the sun; when thus prepared they very much resemble a dried grape, both in taste and flavour. Either eaten raw or dressed, they afford a wholesome strengthening food; but they are often applied to a less laudable purpose; for, being fermented, they yield by distillation a strong spirit, which is sold so cheap, that an English pint of it may be purchased for a halfpenny. The fruit yields an oil, which so much resembles ghee, or clarified butter, that being cheaper, it is often mixed with that commodity, and used in victuals, burned in lamps, and applied externally as a remedy for wounds and all cutaneous eruptions.

become actual rulers of the country, the revenue is collected and carried to account under the usual heads.* All extra and arbitrary charges are denominated extraordinaries.† These include a house, or income tax, which is levied every second or third year from each house (Brahmins and cultivators excepted), according to the real or supposed wealth of the owner; but it falls chiefly on shopkeepers. Under the head of extraordinaries also come all fines, impositions, and demands for temporary supplies. The latter, whatever be the pretext on which they are levied, soon become, with the Mahratta government, a fixed annual ‡ charge. The favoured classes escape those arbitrary taxes, while all others must depend chiefly (whatever nominal system of revenue they have) on the character of the prince and his ministers;

* These are Mal and Abwab. The former is what is collected on land and customs, including taxes on liquor, &c. The latter includes the difference of the exchange (often considerable) between that of the market and the fixed rate at which the revenue of the district is paid; casual aid or support of Government officers employed by the minister or manager; fees to the Potdar, or treasury servant, who examines the money; contributions to expenses at the feasts, and marriages of the princes or principal ministers.

† These are designated by the term of Sivai Jummah, or "More than the settled revenue."

‡ The following instances of this practice are remarkable. In 1805, when Jeswunt Row Holkar was in pursuit of Lieut.-Colonel Monson's corps, the death of numbers of his gun-

but the extent to which extraordinaries have been levied in Central India, by those who were deemed its best rulers, is a strong proof of the great moderation of the original assessment; and we find a still stronger in the condition of the cultivators, which appears, in those districts that are well managed, as prosperous as that of the same class in the Company's territories, where the Government share is higher in a proportion that makes it probably equal to the total that is taken from the country by the Mahratta government. One State draws the revenue in the gross to its coffers, whence part is distributed to its officers. The other has a subdivision of revenue, which is quite separate from that allotted to Government. This system is suited to the construction of a Native State, and is, in moderately good times, much more favourable to the general distribution of wealth among the principal cultivators, the Zemindars, Potails, and all connected with the agricultural classes.

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bullocks led him to levy a contribution of one bullock each from many villages. The tax did not cease with the emergency; but it was commuted for money, and ten rupees are still paid by each of these villages, under the head of Top-Khanah Kurch, or charge for the train.—A tax, denominated Corraberar, was first levied by Madhajee Sindia from the country of Mewar, to remunerate him for the price of one of his favourite horses that died within the limits of that province; and this amount was long afterwards annually assessed as a part of the revenue.

Komisdars or Collectors.

The Collector, or renter, when he proceeds to take charge of a province or district, has a schedule of all the known receipts and disbursements of the country to which he is nominated given him from the Furnavese's or Exchequer office. Certain disbursements are authorized, and the balance of the collections is remitted to the treasury. It has been of late years a custom with the Mahratta Princes in Central India to demand, from those to whom they consign countries, one year's revenue in advance; and sometimes, if the latter are rich, two years'. An interest of one per cent. per month is admitted upon such advances. The Collector, or renter, should he not have funds of his own, can easily borrow, at this or a lower rate, from bankers, who derive from their support an authority, which places the cultivators with whom they have concerns, much at their mercy: the fact is, that it is usually the bankers who make these advances direct, and receive in payment an assignment on the collections of districts, which they under-rent; and this system has often the effect, as before noticed, of placing them at the head, not only of the Revenue, but of the Councils of the State.*

* Gopul Paruk, Sindia's minister, and Tantia Jogh, who exercises, during the minority of Mulhar Row Holkar, the power of Regent, are both Soucars, or Bankers.

The best and most popular mode of realizing the revenue in Central India, is by granting leases of ten, twenty, or thirty years, to respectable men. The worst, and most dreaded, is that which prevails (particularly in many of Sindia's districts), of annual changes of managers and renters: — such take no interest in the prosperity of the country, and commit every excess to make up the sum they require. But there is still, except in very extreme cases, under all this mismanagement, not nearly so much ruin and general distress, as might be supposed. This can only result from the Government, with all its arbitrary acts, being defrauded by a combination, which extends from the prime minister to the poorest cultivator of the smallest district. The uncertainty of station makes all tremble at the prospect of proved guilt; and hence that union between heads of villages, renters, collectors, and Government officers, which enables the lowest to keep the highest in check. The balance against a village is often cancelled by a Collector, to prevent the Potail and head cultivators preferring a complaint, or exposing some concealed items of revenue; and the Collector, in his turn, secures his office for years, by being able to prove fabricated accounts in the office of the Furnavese, or by having given a bribe to a minister. The abuses of such a system become, in time, understood; and are, even when detected, treated

with indulgence: they belong to a loose despotic government, like that of the Princes of India; and when they are within limits, and the administration is conducted with vigilance, and upon tolerably just principles, a considerable degree of happiness and comfort is diffused. So much is enjoyed of what is deemed fair emolument, by those who have a share in the management, or the collections, that they hesitate to hazard their situation by any oppressive act. Instead of their interests being promoted, as that of collectors under a stricter government often are, by devising means to increase the public revenue, their advantage lies in the power of those under them to satisfy their comparatively light personal claims, even to the prejudice of those of the Government, against which they, in fact, often combine.

The villages in Central India, like individuals, seek a patron or protector; and a link once established with any person who possesses power, is a great shield against the oppression of the manager or renter. The Mahratta Princes and their principal ministers derive great profit from the fines they impose on the errors and crimes, real or pretended, of the officers employed in the provinces. This renders the latter very apprehensive of the inhabitants of a village which enjoys the protection of any person at court. This is established in various ways: sometimes from the village having

a place of worship frequented by the minister, or any high officer of state, or such persons having free land or gardens within its limits; and at other times by an inhabitant being in their service, or one of their chief domestics having intermarried into one of the families of the village. The slightest tie is readily improved into a strong bond, in a Government where interference in the concerns of others is, to men in office, a source of increase of income and strength.

Revenue from Fines.

The system of imposing fines was extended by collectors and renters, when they were sufficiently powerful, over all the villages under their management; and no demands fell so heavy, in times of trouble, as those impositions called Gonahgaree, on crimes. These are imposed sometimes on individuals, but more generally on the whole village. The common plea is a murder or theft within its limits, or some act of an individual, or the community, that is assumed to have caused loss to Government or the Governor of the country. Adultery, second marriages, broils, and all irregularities, are subject to these fines. The excess to which the abuse of this source of revenue has been carried in some of the large towns of Central India (especially in Oojein*), is almost

* In the city of Oojein the fines arising from irregularities are rented, and the renter employs men and women in every quarter of the city to allure persons into situations where they can be accused: affrays are contrived, when respectable or

incredible. From the comparative facility of concealment, such fines have often been the perquisites of collectors. The poorer classes who suffer from these exactions, have the consolation of seeing that their oppressors are not exempt from the same evils. Independent of the heavy bribes with which collectors and other Government officers purchase their offices, and which they are compelled to renew every two or three years, all complaints against them, however trivial, are heard and recorded; while the commission of serious acts of violence or aggression, if not no-

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wealthy persons are present, who, while the agents of the renter fly, are seized and hurried into confinement, from which they can only be released by payment of a fine. But women are the instruments through whom the largest sums are extorted. The most profligate are tutored to act the part of respectable heads of families, assignations are made, and the unwary deluded into the hands of the police, from which they can only escape by paying a sum, which is always more proportioned to their means than their offence. Innocent persons are continually accused, from the hope of their paying some money to avoid the scandal which always attaches to such accusations. A short period since, an oil-merchant of Oojein, who was confined and ill-used upon a fabricated charge of adultery, emasculated himself in the public Choultry, to prove, as he said, not only his innocence, but his resolution not to afford his tyrants a future opportunity of oppressing him. This is stated by Captain Borthwick to have occurred when he was at Oojein; and it was, he says, the talk of that city for some days, and instanced as a proof of the infamous character of this system of taxation.

ticed at the moment, is sure to be remembered, and to form on the day of reckoning a serious item of the account which is carefully kept of their offences. The fines extorted on such occasions are particularly valued by the Mahratta Princes, as they form, with the produce of the Khasjee, or Royalty lands, their privy purse, and are never deemed applicable to the expenses of the Government. They also permit favoured branches of their family, particularly their wives, to enjoy a share in this species of revenue; and the latter are often the open sellers of appointments, as well as the supporters of governors of countries, who make them an adequate return. This corruption still exists, but in a less degree than it did a few years ago; and in the states of Central India immediately under the control of the British government, those intrusted with the administration appear already to have discerned, that it is by encouraging, not oppressing, the cultivators, by employing efficient, instead of corrupt and arbitrary governors and collectors, that they will consult their true interests, gratify the state by which they are protected, and increase the profit of their territories.

Alienation of Revenue and Lands.

Permanent alienation of the revenue is very uncommon among the Mahratta Princes in Central India:—these have not forgotten that their own titles originated in mere temporary grants, and they have great reluctance to give Sunnuds, or

deeds, of a contrary nature. There are numerous Jaghires, and Enam or Nankar lands. The former are estates for the life of the individual; and the latter, assignments in gift, or provision for service, are given to district and village hereditary officers*, and sometimes, but not often, to others. Istumrar grants, which assign land at a fixed moderate assessment, (sometimes far below the revenue,) are seldom given but to Rajpoot lords or Bheel Chiefs†, whom it is

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* Zemindars, Wuttundars, &c. &c.

† The following is a copy of an Istumrar grant of the village of Tirlah from the Puar State of Dhar to Sheo Singh and Beeman Singh, Boomiahs of Nimkenah, agreeably to a settlement mediated by me, dated 6th June, 1820. "Whereas it appears that the village of Tirlah was granted and secured in Istumrar by the ancient Kings, and by the ancestors of the Rajas of the Puar State, to the ancestors of Sheo Singh and Beeman Singh, Boomiahs, on condition that they were to protect the villages situated between Sooltanpoor and Dhar, as well as the cattle and property of the inhabitants of those places, from the depredations of the Bheels, and were to pay annually a tribute of three hundred and fifty rupees to the State. And whereas the present Boomiah Sheo Singh and Beeman Singh being unable, during the unsettled times of Malwa, to repress the predatory attacks of the Bheels, by which the peasantry were ruined; it became necessary to resume the village of Tirlah from the said Boomiahs, and to build a fort and take other measures for the protection of the inhabitants:—

"Now that all disturbances have been quelled and the country restored to peace and tranquillity through the influence of the British government, the aforesaid Boomiahs have in a sup-

desired to conciliate and to induce to cultivate the soil, or who engage to give protection to certain limits, on condition of this favour. No Mahratta chief enjoys a large grant, except as Serinjam, which means for the maintenance of troops. Villages are occasionally given for their personal support; but even these are not made heritable. Permanent grants are alone given to favoured priests, or as endowments of religious institutions. Little respect has been shewn by the descendants of the first Mahratta Princes of Central India to the Sunnuds of the Emperors of Delhi, except to those held by Zemindars, and hereditary officers, with whose services, in the internal management of the country, they could not dispense; but though their free lands and immunities were

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pliant manner intreated the State to listen to their request, that the village of Tirlah may be restored to them on the terms on which it was formerly held; and they agree, on the part of themselves and their successors, to be answerable for any depredations that may be henceforth committed by Bheels between Dhar and Sooltanpoor, as also for any injury sustained by travellers or by the inhabitants of Dhar, and that they will zealously employ themselves in the service of the State. The Raja of Dhar, therefore, on the faith and in consideration of these promises, grants, through the medium of General Sir J. Malcolm, the said village of Tirlah to the said Boomiahs on the following terms: Five hundred Halee rupees of Indore or Oojein to be paid annually to the Dhar State by three instalments, commencing from 24th Shâbân of the year 1877, of Vicramaditya, corresponding with 6th June, 1820."

preserved, their authority has been much limited. The disputes which continually occur regarding the division of the family inheritance*, afford the Mahrattas constant opportunities of interference, which enable them not only to weaken the power and influence of these local officers, but to derive revenue from their dissensions.

Zemindars and hereditary officers, who have rights and dues, never receive pay. Governors of

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* The Enam lands of Wuttundars are subject to the Hindu law, and consequently are divided among all the sons of Zemindars or Potails; but dues and fees are always the right of the elder of the family, who is manager. On minute inquiry I find that, when the operation of the law subdivides land in a degree that makes it unequal to the support of all the individuals of a family, distress and consequent emigration enables the elder branch, which continues possessed of influence and means, to regain the whole. But the consequence is frequent and violent disputes, which are always a source of profit to the rulers, and often of ruin to a divided family. As an instance of the subdivision of such rights, we may take the Wuttundar claims, which the family of Holkar brought forward on Candeish, (independent of the Daishmookee of Chandore): not one of these was for a full share of this right, the highest being for three-fourths of the Daishmookh of Galnah, and the lowest for one-sixteenth of the Potailee of Wulsee, in the district of Dongrish Minderbar. Equal anxiety was shewn to establish these petty claims, as if provinces had been in dispute. This originated partly from an attachment to old rights, and partly from a wish to hold the patronage such claims include: there is also a spirit inherent in Mahrattas, of establishing, whenever practicable, an interference with the affairs of other States.

provinces and collectors of districts, as well as the officers under them, do. The highest of this class in Holkar's Government receive only a small annual allowance; but they have very considerable fees and advantages. In some of Sindia's provinces in Central India, the principal collectors háve as high as twenty-five thousand rupees per annum; the other persons in this department are paid in proportion to their duties; but the expenses of collection are not now calculated to exceed twenty per cent. on the gross revenue.

Collection of Revenue in Cities and Towns.

The revenue from cities and towns in Central India is collected on the same principles as that of villages. The superior opulence of the inhabitants is more inviting to oppressive Princes; but these are checked by the collective influence and strength of the wealthy citizens, particularly the bankers, who are very powerful; and who can only be objects of open plunder in times of extreme violence, such as those with which this country was afflicted from the rise of Jeswunt Row Holkar till the peace of Mundissor.

Independent of the extraordinary contributions, fines, and other occasional impositions, laid upon the inhabitants, the sale of public lands is, when a town or capital increases in magnitude, a source of considerable profit*; ground for building, eli-

* In villages no profit is derived from this source by Government; on the contrary, a small allotment of land

gibly situated, selling for four and five rupees the square foot. The Government frequently builds large bazaars or markets, and derives a great profit from the shopkeepers to whom they are let.

Paishkush, or Tribute.

A considerable part of the revenue of the Mahratta States is derived from the tribute, or Paishkush*, paid by great and petty Rajpoot Princes. The mode of collecting this is by means of an agent, who resides with the tributary, and who usually receives and remits the amount in money; but, when that cannot be raised, cloths, horses, and other articles, are taken in lieu. No part of their receipts has been more continually fluctuating than this. Imposed by the strong hand of power, on a reduced and degenerate, but warlike and turbulent race of chiefs, the payment of tribute has generally been resisted, whenever there was the slightest hope, even of delaying it. Arrears have been swelled into a large amount; and a day of settlement has often been one of ruin† to the weaker party. This branch of the revenue has been liable to very gross abuses, and has

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(generally from a half to one and two begahs) is given to the most respectable inhabitants.

* Paishkush is the common word for Tribute. It is a Persian compound, which literally signifies "first fruits," or rather that which is first extracted.

† The following are among the principal of the Rajpoot chiefs, whom Dowlet Row Sindia has succeeded in destroy-

formed the ground of the greatest excesses and enormities which the Mahratta governments have committed in Central India.

Peculiarities in the Revenue System of Bhopal.

The revenue system of the Nabobs of Bhopal differs little, either in the mode of settlement or collection *, from that of the Mahratta governments, except that it has been liable to less fluctuation, and regulated by more consideration for the cultivators, who have suffered much from foreign enemies (particularly the Pindarries), but have always been kindly and well used by the Princes of this petty State. The other classes of its subjects have also been, in general, well treated. One law, however, is much complained of: the property of any man of rank, high or low, dying within the limits of the principality without a son, is seized, as belonging to Government; even the Hindu widow has not the privilege of adoption, to avert the misery to which she is thus

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ing (since the Peace of 1805 with the British government) on the plea of arrears of tribute:—

Rajas of Narwar, Sheopoor, Chanderee, Ragooghur, Gurrahkotah, and Ratghur.

* The collections of the Government of Bhopal from its districts in Malwa are in money and on the begah. In the districts in Gondwarra, (such as Goonoor, Chynpoor Barree,) they collect on the ploughs and in kind. In some parts the Government share of the grain is one half, in others two-fifths; the reason of such difference refers to the usage of the Pergunnah or district.

reduced. In Mahratta and Rajpoot countries*, such an usage is partial, and the family can in all cases compound by a present or a fine.

Peculiarities in the Revenue System of Zalim Singh.

One of the principal of the Rajpoot rulers of Central India, Zalim Singh, has a revenue system which, like that of his government, is entirely suited to his personal character. He manages a kingdom like a farm: he is the banker who makes the advances to the cultivators, as well as the ruler to whom they pay revenue; and his terms of interest are as high as those of the most sordid money-brokers. This places the cultivators much in his power; and to increase this dependence, he has belonging to himself several thousand ploughs, with hired labourers, who are not only employed in recovering waste lands, but sent on

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* Zalim Singh, the regent of Kotah, on an impression that a complaint had been made to me by the relative of a deceased small renter in the district of Baroda, wrote on the 8th July, 1820, to his agent with me as follows: "Tell the General, if the complaint is made, that the usage of this country, when a man dies without children, is to give his estate to his wife, who enjoys it for her natural life. It goes after that to the sons whom she has regularly adopted. In failure of such heir, to the nephew of the deceased; and on their failure to the nearest relation."

I asked the Vakeel, if, by the usage of Kotah, the Government had no right to the property of a man who died without children.—His reply was, "None, beyond expressing a desire, that part of the property, if large, should be expended for charitable purposes."

the instant to till those fields which the peasantry object to cultivate from deeming the rent too high. This system has, no doubt, spread cultivation, and increased the revenue; but it has been hard upon the husbandmen. There has, however, for the last thirty years, been complete security in the territories of Kotah, and men have been ready to pay any price for this blessing.

Formerly the settlements in the greater part of Zalim Singh's country were in Buttaye*, or kind; but he has, within a few years, adopted money-payments, and is said to be more indulgent to the cultivators than he was before. This, no doubt, arises from his being convinced, that he would (now the territories around him are in tranquillity) lose many of his most useful subjects, unless he treated them with kindness and liberality. Few of his districts are rented; and his managers, and those under them, are all servants of Government. They are seldom allowed to

* This settlement, after a separation of the seed, made an equal division of the grain between Government and the cultivator, leaving the latter to pay dues. Zalim Singh had, when he followed this practice, few items under the head of Extraordinaries; one, however, was inflicted fifteen years ago, which made up in weight for numerical deficiency: it was termed "the invention of Zalim Singh," and consisted of a tax of one rupee on every maunee (or twelve maunds) of grain, sold by the cultivator or wholesale merchant. This tax pursued the grain till it was retailed: it has recently been discontinued.

remain long at one place, lest they should make connexions and acquire influence.

Zalim Singh levies a revenue upon the inhabitants of his principal towns, in much the same manner as the Mahratta States; some of these, particularly Jalrapatun, have been peopled from the desolate countries of Holkar. The whole class of bankers and merchants settled at Kotah have become dependents upon Zalim Singh, who not only mixes in their family affairs, but is (if the assertion of many creditable men can be believed) a partner in the concerns of almost every merchant and trader in his country. It is by such means, and by seizing for the State a great proportion of the lands that were held by different Rajpoot lords, that he has so much increased the public revenue, and his own personal wealth, which is reported to be very great.

Peculiarities in the Revenue System of some of the Petty Rajpoot Principalities.

In several of the petty Rajpoot principalities, the collections, with the exception of irrigated lands, on which opium, sugar, tobacco, &c. are produced, are made in kind, or according to what is termed the Buttaye settlement. The principle is moderate; the dues of the Zemindar, Potails, and others, being satisfied, the grain is divided into five shares, of which the Government has usually two*, and the cultivators three. These

* These remarks apply to Rutlam, Sillanah, and many other states. At Amjherra, the prince receives one third of the Khureef crop, and seven twenty-fourths of the Rubbee.

proportions are of the gross estimated produce, and before any allowance is made for dues to Zemindars and other officers. It is not uncommon, also, to levy a small money-tax on each begah of land, in addition to the settlement in kind: but this is considered an extraordinary exaction.* Many Rajpoot princes, however, collect their revenue in money, and with little difference in system from the Mahratta States, to which they are tributary, and by whose provinces they are surrounded.

The province of Rath (including Ally Mohun, Jobut, Jabooah, Barreah, and other tracts West of the Mhye river) is principally peopled by cultivating Bheels; and it is remarkable, that in this country the Turwees, or heads of the Parrahs or clusters of Bheel huts, take rank above the Potails of villages inhabited by other tribes. The latter are deemed strangers; while the Bheels, who are most numerous, claim the soil, paying the Government share. This class are, however, little attached to particular fields; and as the population bears no proportion to the extent of territory, they are prompt to change their residence from the slightest cause. This is facilitated by the slight construction of their dwellings, the numerous streams, and the abundant fertility of many parts

* The Rajas of Seeta Mhow, Narsinghur, Rajghur, Baglee, &c. lect their revenue in money.

of the soil. If the son of a Turwee is discontented, he persuades some adherents to follow him to a favourite spot, some miles from that where he was born: a few huts are built on small eminences apart from the Parrah, or colony, and the neighbouring fields are cleared and cultivated, being usually manured and enriched by the ashes of the wood burnt upon them.

These partial emigrations, or rather changes of residence, are encouraged by the Prince, to whom they bring increase of revenue; and are seldom discountenanced by the heads of the family; for, though the founder of the new colony is styled and obeyed as Turwee by his followers, he is only deemed a branch of the superior of his tribe, whose wealth and consequence (for he has dues as well as allegiance) are increased by the multiplication of such separate establishments.

The mode of collection in the principal towns of the petty Rajas West of the Mhye river, and in those few possessions inhabited by regular cultivators, is in money, and according to a system not dissimilar to that of the Mahrattas. With the cultivating Bheels their settlements are chiefly made in kind*: they assess these by the number of pairs of oxen employed, or rather the

* In Doongurpoor the cultivating Bheels give one fourth of their crop. The wilder classes pay a tribute in money, or kind, through their chief, who generally assumes the ti of Rawul.

ploughs. The latter pay from two to five rupees in money*, the remainder in grain. From three to five maunds† of grain, and two or three seers‡ of ghee, are collected on each yoke of oxen. Thus, calculating the yoke capable of ploughing twenty-five begahs, it will in common times bring the Government demand considerably below one rupee the begah upon the grain crops, which is generally Indian corn, millet, and pulse.

The Turwees have the same rights as Potails; and the Raja collects a revenue under the head of Bheit, or dues, for himself and officers, from every Parrah, or colony.§ A tax is also imposed for the use of wells constructed by Government, or within the limits of its lands. Duties are levied upon the grain-dealers settled in the hamlets and villages. Taxes in kind, consisting of wood and bricks for public buildings, pots and different articles, particularly forage, are either levied, or commuted for cash payments.

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* In the Pergunnah of Koosarbarah, which belongs to the Raja of Ally Mohun, and is inhabited by Bheels only, each plough pays to the State annually eight rupees, one seer of ghee, and one maund of grain. These two articles must be rated, however, at half as much more, as the weight which the ruler requires is one half greater than that in common use.

† A maund is forty seer, or eighty pounds.

‡ A seer is two pounds in weight.

§ In Ally Mohun, each Parrah pays two rupees, which being demanded in kind does not average less than three times at sum.

The most common settlement in these countries is with the Turwees, who agree to pay the Government so much for the small cluster of huts. This system, which prevails in Jabooah*, and other countries in Rath, is regulated by the local situation of the Turwees, as that makes them more or less independent. It is an usage with the Government to conciliate these petty heads of colonies, by excusing their payment for one pair of bullocks; and from the wilder Bheels, who keep to their fastnesses, and are quite separate in their habits from the cultivating class, no revenue is collected. Their chief sometimes makes an offering of one or two rupees, a cucumber, and a few seers of the Cheraunchaf nut, at the Dusserah, to the Raja to whom he professes a nominal allegiance.

The Rajas of Jabooah, Barreah, and other petty principalities, draw a portion of their revenue, in the shape of tribute and aids, from their dependent Thakoors: who are, in general, branches of their family. These are usually ready with their military service, but pay or withhold the

* The principal Turwees in Jabooah, and other countries where the Bheels are civilized, receive, even when they pay in money, the revenue in kind from the cultivators, and employ Soucars to sell it. They are, in fact, rulers of their Parrahs, in which their authority is very great, and their dues often higher than Potails.

† A small nut, which is sweet and nutritious.

revenue of the state, according to the power of the superior to enforce it.

Revenue of Bagur and Doongurpoor.

The country of Bagur, including the principalities of Banswarra and Doongurpoor, is said to have once enjoyed, under an ancestor of its present Princes, a good system of revenue, as well as of government; but no part of Central India suffered such desolation, and a considerable period is required to restore this country to its former prosperity.

The most remarkable difference between the Province of Bagur and others in its vicinity is, that there are no hereditary Zemindars and Canoongoes in this country; and though there are Potails and other village officers, who have the same functions as in Malwa, they are not hereditary, nor do they, as a matter of course, enjoy free lands in remuneration for their services. The reason for this seems plain: the greater part of the principalities were possessed by Bheels before the ancestors of the present Rajpoot chiefs established themselves; and the latter, though they have not been able to dispense with the services of these village functionaries, have not chosen to alienate lands, or to constitute any authority of sufficient respectability to be a check upon their despotism.

The country of Bagur is divided into Tuppahs, or districts and villages; the lands are subdivided into Khalsa (or Government), Jaghires (for

the support of Thakoors, who pay a small tribute and military service), and Khyrat, or charitable grants.

The Khalsa or Government lands are seldom rented: first, because for the last thirty or forty years there has been no security of property to induce persons of wealth and character to engage in such a concern; and, secondly, because keeping such lands in his own hands is more profitable to the minister*, who is enabled, beyond the profit he derives from the management of the revenue, to make his gains, as Kottaree, or grain-keeper, upon that part of it which is paid in kind.

The collections made on Government land vary in different parts of Bagur; but every where there appears one principle, which is to exact from the cultivator as much as can be taken without his total ruin. There are, in various villages of Doongurpoor, no less than twenty-two heads†

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* The minister of Rajpoot princes is termed Karbar, a Persian compound, signifying, The person who has "the load of business."

† The following are the heads under which the revenues of this petty state are collected:

1st. Buraur (or Ayen Jummah), the fixed revenue.

2d. Jeyt, an assessment for the payment of the salaries of Tehsildars, and the Rawul's, or Prince's retainers.

3d. Koowur Sookrie, for the expenses of the Koowur, or Rawul's eldest son. Sookrie means the first or morning meal.

of collection, or rather of extortion. Some of these are partial, many are deemed arbitrary, and laid on towns and villages according to the

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4th. Kamdar Sookrie, a per-centage (ten per cent.) for the expenses of the Kamdar, or minister.

5th. Lawgut Karkoon, for the payment of the Government officers.

6th. Oodhra, a collection originally intended for the payment of certain troops in the service of the state.

7th. Rhatib Ghore, for the feeding of the Rawul's horses.

8th. Bhattee Khulal, a trifling tax on liquor-shops.

9th. Pandur Tukkah, for the expenses of the great Nowbut or drum-beater, &c. &c.

10th. Paurah Burar, for the provision of a buffalo for sacrifice at the Dusserah.

11th. Shevarat, for defraying the charges of the festival in honour of Siva in the month Magh.

12th. Sereephul, for the supply of cocoa-nuts during the Hooly, it being usual for the Rawul at that time to distribute that fruit to the Thakoors, Zemindars of villages, and people more immediately attached to himself, who may visit him on that festival.

13th. Waugah, for the maintenance of the Rawul's wardrobe.

14th. Sir Putora, for the maintenance of the Ranee's wardrobe.

15th. Paundoo, for the wages of the attendants of the Rawul's horses.

16th. Ghora Churahee, a tax levied under the head of extra charges, for men who may have been sent to bring home the Rawul's horses from the villages where they were occasionally sent out to graze when out of condition.

17th. Chara, for the supply of grass for the Rawul's horses.

18th. Dulaulee, a tax paid by the Dulauls, or brokers, a

opinion entertained of their power of bearing them. The mode of assessment in Banswarra, though the same in principle, is on the whole more simple and less burthensome.

The most oppressive of all the burthens laid upon the villages of Bagur by their rulers was that of imposing a favourite of the day as a temporary ruler (termed Gomeytee); and they are not only obliged to support this person, with his retainers, but to give him whatever they can afford, in order to prevent his exercising a power vested in him of increasing the taxes.

Assignments to the Thakoors of the princi-

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description of people who derive a livelihood in commercial towns from acting as agents between purchasers and sellers.

19th. Kussera, a tax paid by the workmen in brass and copper.

20th. Dup-Ghur, a tax paid by the manufacturers of leather for oil vessels, shields, &c.

21st. Bhurawet, a tax on the preparers of the coarser ornaments worn on the legs and arms of the women of the lower orders.

To all the above, which are said to have been established by Punjah Rawul, was added on the invasion of the Mahratta armies at a subsequent period, the following, under the head,

22d. Kurnee; this was an assessment levied for the payment of tribute to a foreign power, to which all descriptions of inhabitants were obliged to contribute: in the towns of Saugwarra, Gurreah, Kote, and Doongurpoor, the cultivators were exempted from this tax; but in all other places, without exception, neither they nor any other individuals enjoyed any immunity.

palities of Doongurpoor and Banswarra are made in two modes. One called Thakoor ka Reet, or the Thakoor's share, is little more than the allotment* of part of the revenue for payment of service. In such cases, the Thakoor has usually the fixed rent, all other dues (before enumerated) being collected by the Government officers. The other grants are free from all interference of Government; and the territory so assigned, is under the sole management of the Thakoor, who collects his revenues on much the same system as his Lord Paramount: such grants imply obligations and claims, both of service and money aid; but these are (particularly the latter) dependent on the relative power of the parties to compel or resist.

None of the Thakoors' lands are held on hereditary grants: such, indeed, as has been stated are not usual in Central India, except to hereditary district and village officers, and for religious purposes; but it is not fair to argue from this, that all possessions, for which no such deeds exist, are held at the pleasure of the prince. Usage has rendered them hereditary; and they are only alleged to be resumable in extreme cases of guilt, or rebellion, where estates held under any tenure would be forfeited.

* In Banswarra the collection is made by the Jaghiredar, and the Government share paid by him. In Doongurpoor the minister collects it.

The Khyrat, or charitable grants to establishments or individuals, are the only lands in Bagur that are given in perpetuity. The deeds for these are often engraved* on copper; and it is usually written, that the land specified is to remain as an endowment to the charity as long as the sun and moon shall endure.

The soil of many parts of the country of Bagur is rich; and from those portions now cultivated, which are irrigated by wells, tanks, and cuts from the rivers, particularly the Mhye, we can judge of the former fertility of its beau-

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* Charitable grants are given by every Raja and chief in Central India, it being supposed an act of piety to alienate the soil for such purposes: I have copies of nine deeds made by the petty Rajas of Narsinghur and Rajghur in Omutwarra. The following will serve as a specimen of the style and substance of such deeds, as well as the spirit in which they are granted.

"I Purseram (Dewan of Narsinghur) grant in charity to Peerut and Rooprau, Brahmins, the village of Kundoor, and I have inscribed this deed on a plate of copper, as follows:

"That my heirs and successors shall not make any assessment on the above mentioned village; and I have taken an oath that neither I nor they shall *ever drink the water*, thereby leaving the free management and control of this village to Peerut and Rooprau, and the full enjoyment of all advantage arising from it. Written on the 12th of Jeyt, in the Sumbhut 1779."

The Raja's vow, never to drink the water, is metaphorical, and meant to imply the village granted being free from all demands whatever.

tiful valleys, which will, under the protection this territory now enjoys, soon be restored. It produces sugar and opium (for home consumption), and all the grains of this part of India. Many of the fields are inclosed.* The cultivators are chiefly of the hereditary † class, and have not only a right to till the ground, but, if in distress, can mortgage it; and to take it from them under any circumstances, is deemed the extreme of tyranny. A considerable portion of the land in this country, particularly those parts which form the estates of the Thakoors, is subdivided and assigned in small allotments, from two to twenty begahs, each for the support of their military followers. This is a common usage with all Rajpoot States, and in Central India it extends more or less to every village ‡. These petty possessions are hereditary, provided the obligation of service is fulfilled: they may be mortgaged, but cannot be sold by the proprietor.

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* Their hedges are usually the milk-bush.

† In Bagur the Ryots are chiefly of a tribe called Koormee: the land is divided into portions or divisions called Bautch, of at least twenty begahs, or enough for one plough, and some more. If any of these cultivators is forced to fly, or does so from any cause, he is considered, within a certain limit of ten or twelve years, to have a right to reclaim his fields, whoever may have possession.

‡ A person who holds land in a village on condition of local service, is called Zumeen ka Nokur, or the soldier of the soil.

Commerce of Central India.

The States of Central India derive great advantage from a transit trade, as well as from its own commerce with neighbouring countries.

Opium.

The most valuable of all the exports is opium*. It is calculated that upwards of 8600 maunds are produced in the province, of which at least 6500 are annually exported, to meet the demands for that article in the Deckan, Mewar, Marwar, and Guzerat. The price of this article has been always subject to considerable variation. It appears from the Table in the Appendix †, which exhibits the expenses of its cultivation, that it may usually be sold to the merchants by the cultivator for eight rupees the seer. It has, however, aver-

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* The government of Bombay, with a view of protecting the monopoly of this drug in Bengal, have laid a prohibiting duty of 12 Rs. per seer on Malwa opium exported to the sea-coast, and at the same time offered to purchase whatever quantity was for sale at a fair price. It will be necessary, if this plan succeeds, to take great care to preserve the purity of the drug; for it is a remarkable fact, that the adoption of the measures proposed by Mr. J. Fleming, M.P. when that learned and able public officer was at the head of the Medical Board at Calcutta, raised the Company's revenue on the opium produced in Behar from 8 or 9 lacs of rupees (its average annual amount before 1797) to 80 lacs, at which it has ever since continued. This was effected by the establishment of an agent instead of contractors, and by the pains taken to prevent the adulteration of the drug.

† Vide Appendix, No. VI.

aged, during the last two years, more than double that price; but this has been the effect of bad crops, combined with a gambling spirit of speculation amongst the traders, and success in its illicit exportation, owing to the safety of the roads through all the countries contiguous to Central India. This drug cannot long maintain its present price; and will, no doubt, be again sold for five or six rupees the seer.

The Awl (or Morinda) and other dyes*, are exported in very considerable quantities from Malwa. Tobacco is more an import than an export; but that produced at Bhilsa, which has a high reputation for its superior flavour, is taken both to the Deckan and Hindustan. Dyes. Tobacco.

Grain has been, for many years past, exported from Malwa to Mewar; and sometimes, when there was a casual demand, to Candeish and Guzerat; but it is not unfrequently an article of import from the latter country. Cotton is both imported and exported. In some districts of Central India it is of superior quality; and cotton thread is always an article of profitable export from this country. Grain. Cotton.

Cloths of very superior quality are produced at Chanderee, and exported to every part of India; Cloths.

* The Kussoon, a purple dye, is a great export from Malwa to the valley of the Nerbudda and the Nagpoor territories. Kussoon is the bastard Saffron, or Carthamus Tinctorius of Linnæus.

and manufactures little inferior, which formerly flourished at Sarungpoor, Ashta, Sehore, &c., but have fallen into decay, have been lately revived, and will soon form a very considerable branch of commerce.

Black Cattle. The black cattle of Nemaur have always been famous; and though their numbers have been greatly reduced during the late troubles to which these provinces have been subject, they will early become, as formerly, an article of profitable export.

Imports. Silk, both raw and wrought, but chiefly the latter, gold cloths, chintzes, and many other articles, are brought from the Bengal provinces

Woollens. and Hindustan. The Southern and Western parts of Central India are supplied with woollens from the ports in Guzerat; while the Eastern and Northern parts of that province receive them from Bundelcund, and from the depôts recently formed in Hindustan. The decrease of sale in this staple article of England, which has been considerable, is to be accounted for by the great diminution of the Native armies in Central India, and the poverty of its present Governments: woollens being seldom used by the natives of this part of India, but in trappings for elephants, saddle-cloths, furniture for rooms, covers for beds, palanquins, hackeries, &c. This branch of trade will revive as prosperity is restored and men can afford luxuries; for such this cloth, from

its comparative high price, and its not being an article of necessity, must be considered.

The English shawls and different kinds of printed cottons, which are now common in Hindustan, have hardly yet found their way into Central India, nor is much European hardware sold in this province. The state of the country, till within the last three years, has been little inviting to the foreign merchant, and its poverty will for some time be a bar to his success.

The chief route by which silks and other articles from the Bengal provinces, formerly came to Central India, was by Mirzapoor, Chatterpoor, and Mhow Ranneepoor. This road had been for many years obstructed; it is again opened, and the arrival of goods from Mirzapoor (the greater part of which were destined for Guzerat) was a short time ago hailed at Indore as an epoch. The road is now filled with merchandize; and, in the fair season, few days pass, at that city or Oojein, without an arrival.

Dry goods, including betel-nuts, cocoa-nuts, and spices of all sorts, come mostly from Guzerat; indigo from Hindustan and Bundelcund.

Diamonds, pearls, and other jewels, in small quantities (for there are few purchasers), are from Bundelcund, the Deckan, and Guzerat.

Gold, silver, and copper, are imported from Bombay and Surat, into Malwa and the Western countries of Bagur and Mewar.

Gold is not coined in Central India. A little is expended in ornaments, and the remainder goes on principally by the route of Gualior to Hindustan. Much of the silver and copper imported, is used in the mints; but the subject of coinage in that province, as well as the weights and measures which have been established, are too much connected with its revenue and commerce to be passed over without notice.

Coins. There are mints at almost all the principal towns* in Central India. A Table in the Appendix† will shew the weight and quantity of alloy in the different rupees.

The principles on which these mints are conducted, and their rude process of coinage, being nearly similar in all; a concise account of any one, noticing merely in what points others differ, will suffice for a perfect understanding of the subject.

The right of coining is vested in no particular body, or individuals; any banker or merchant sufficiently conversant in the business, has merely to make application to Government, presenting at the same time a trifling acknowledgement, engaging to produce coin of the regulated standard, and to pay the proper fees on its being assayed and

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* Oojein, Indore, Bhopal, Pertaubghur, Bhilsa, Gunj Bassowda, Seronge, Kotah.

† Vide Appendix, No. VII.

permitted to pass current. Almost all the expense* falls on the merchant, the Government retaining in their pay merely the following officers: a superintendant†, an assay-master‡, and an accountant §, and some refiners ||. Besides their wages, these mint-officers are allowed certain perquisites, which, however, are but very trifling.

The process of coining ¶ in the mints of Central India is more correct and expeditious than

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* The merchant pays at the mint of Indore as follows:

	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Government dues per cent. - - - - -	1	4	0
Refining - - 350 r's - - - -	0	4	0
Melter - - 1000 r's - - - -	0	4	0
Assay-master - 1000 r's - - - -	0	4	0
Expenses for lead, &c. &c. - - - - -	0	7½	0
Loss of silver in melting, per cent. -	1	0	0

The whole expense therefore to the merchant is about two rupees and thirteen annas per cent.; and Government expends

4 annas	per 1000	to the stamper.
4 - -	1000 - -	engraver.
4 - -	1000 - -	hammerman.
4 - -	1000 - -	refiner.
2½ - -	1000 - -	silversmith.

† Daroga.

‡ Choukussee, literally a man who "makes certain."

§ Dufturee. || Nearchees.

¶ The banker or merchant having obtained permission to coin, and having collected a sufficient number of silversmiths, makes such purchases of coins or other bullion as will turn out

could be conceived from an inspection of the mode they adopt; but the division of labour is well managed, and the care and habitual exact-

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most to his advantage. These being, in general, baser coins than the new one to be formed, are first brought to the Nearchee, or refiner; who, though not a permanent Government officer, has acquired, by agreeing to pay a share of his profits to the latter, a species of contract, the rates of the payment to him, and other dues, being permanently fixed at one rupee for every three hundred and fifty refined, besides supply of fluxes from Government and lead from the merchant. The mode of fining is always by cuppellation with lead: three hundred and fifty rupees are placed at one time in the cuppel, with a certain quantity of lead, according to the standard of the silver used, which by experience he knows will suffice for bringing it to a certain degree of purity, a little higher than that required for the coin. The standard is then nicely adjusted, by adding a certain quantity of baser metal. The purified mass is afterwards taken to the melter, who, putting one thousand rupees weight at a time in a large crucible on an iron ring, capable of being raised by attached chains, melts it and runs it into several small flat moulds, about six inches long, and half an inch broad, forming it thus into convenient pieces for cutting into the necessary dimensions. The melter receives for his labour half a rupee per thousand, half of which is paid by the merchant, and half by Government. The bars of silver are then delivered to the silversmiths, each of whom has a small raised fire-place and anvil in front close to him. On one side sits another with scales and shears, for supplying him with square pieces of the metal of nearly the proper weight. On the other side is a person whose business is to adjust the weight more accurately after it has been formed into its shape. The silversmith receives back the small lumps; heats them red-hot, and taking them up with a pair of small forks, gives them two o

ness of the workmen supply the place of many of those improvements which European skill has introduced into these establishments. Still this is a department which requires great attention and some reform; for the temptation to abuse, by the depreciation of the coin, is too great to be always resisted. The coinage of Oojein, Indore, and Bhopal, has maintained a sufficient degree of

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three smart blows on the angular points, then strikes the piece flat, and gives it afterwards one or two rapid turns on its edge, accompanied by gentle strokes of the hammer; and it thus receives its rudely round form ready for the die. Before this operation, however, it is taken to another man to clean, by boiling it in a mixture of tamarind and salt. The planchets are then taken to receive the impression or inscription: this is formed by two steel dies; one firmly fixed in a heavy raised block, and the silver piece being placed on it; the other die, in form of a large heavy punch, is placed above by one man, whilst an assistant gives it a smart blow with a heavy hammer; one blow suffices: these men are relieved every two hours.

The number of rupees being thus completed, they are carried to the assay-master, and, if approved, the fees are paid and the coin taken away by the proprietor, for circulation. If not approved, they must be recoined at his expense; no fees being, however, again taken, but merely a trifle given to the melter for remelting them, with the proper quantity of purer metal to reduce them to the assay touch. Should an extra number of refiners be required on an emergency, they receive the same dues as the others; but, as they have to find their own fluxes, they pay but one quarter instead of half to Government.

credit and purity; whilst that of Pertaubghur* not only varies continually, but has been gradually increasing its quantity of alloy, from twenty-five, to sixty-six grains each rupee. The Seronge rupee has, in the same manner, increased from six to thirty grains, and the Bhilsa rupee from six to twenty-eight and three quarters grains of alloy.

The principles and process of coining are nearly the same in all the mints of Central India, except at Pertaubghur, where the monopoly is vested in four mercantile houses†: no money can be coined but what comes through their hands; and they are entitled, in succession, to the labour of the

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* The old standard of the Salim Shye rupee was ten massas, or one hundred and fifty grains of pure silver; about three years ago it was nine massas, and latterly it has but little exceeded eight massas.—Vide Captain Mac Donald's letter dated 1st November 1820.

† No one can be admitted to a participation in this concern without the consent of these merchants. The same Government officers, however, exist, as in other places, but the mint charges are heavier, viz.

	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Duty to Government per 100 rupees - - -	2	4	6
Pay to Sonnars per 100 rupees - - - - -	1	0	0
Allowance for loss in making per 100 rupees	0	11	6
Purchase of alloy per 100 rupees - - - -	0	4	0
Allowance to Koordee per 100 rupees - -	0	12	0
Rupees - -	5	0	0

Out of the Government dues the officers and guards are paid. The abuses of this mint have been noticed.

workmen. The mint was established through their means, about sixty years ago, in the time of Raja Salim Singh, who, for services to Shah Allum, obtained a grant authorizing him to coin; and the money bears his name, Salim Shye.

The average number of rupees which a mint in Central India is capable of coining in a day, is about eight or ten thousand*, employing about fifty silversmiths, ten or twelve stampers, six or eight refiners, and two melters.

With respect to the copper coinage, it scarcely merits notice, being alike fluctuating in its value, and confined in its circulation. It consists of double pice, single pice, and half pice. These are rudely cut pieces, with a show of stamp; but both this, its size, and established value, are continually changed by local officers, for the purpose of illicit profit. Excepting, therefore, the Oojein, Indore, Kotah, and Bhopal pice, which have some character, the copper circulation of most places is confined to its own immediate district or town. The general exchange at Indore and Kotah, is sixteen Tucka (or double pice) to a rupee. At Oojein and Rutlam, the pice is smaller. At Mundissor, and in many other places†, the value is changed every

* When I inquired, on my visit to the Mint at Indore, what their utmost efforts could produce in a day, the answer was eleven thousand.

† At Sillanah, Rutlam, and several other towns West of the Chumbul, this abuse has gone to a great extent.

two or three months; and the character of the coin is so deteriorated, that it will not pass two miles from where it is coined.

Besides pice, there are cowries* (a shell circulation); and these, again, are subdivided into fractional parts, which form a nominal money, quite essential in countries where both labour and the common articles of subsistence are cheap, and the standard coin comparatively high.

All the money below the half pice, except the cowrie, is nominal. The anna, or sixteenth part of a rupee, which is also a nominal coin, is used in accounts in Central India. Bankers have no smaller sum on their books than a quarter of this coin; but Bunnias, or Bazaarmen, enter dumries, and all the lesser fractions of money that are known to the country.

Weights and Measures.

In Central India every article is sold by weight: in part of Nemaur, in the Kotah district (but not in the town), and some others, a measure of grain is used, founded on an equivalent for pice weights.

Two species of weights are used in Central

* Cowries are used in Malwa, as in other provinces of India. There are four cowries to a gunda; three gundas to a dumrie; two dumries to a chedaum; three dumries to a tundumrie, and four dumries to an adillah, or half pice. Above this there is the punj dumrie, or five dumries, to the paon pice, or three quarter pice; and then the full pice, of which there are thirty-two to a rupee, which, estimating the latter at two shillings, is three farthings.

India, that of the silversmiths and jewellers, and the large, or bazaar weight: the former is founded on the grain of rice*, and the kuttee, or seed of the wild Jamaica liquorice (Abra pricatorius), and is very simple, and is deemed immutable; that of the bazaar, having as a standard the current rupee of the country, varies not only in the value of the seer, or principal weight, but in the several ascending degrees of the scales. In some districts the seers are large, whilst the maund, &c. contain a smaller number of seers; in others, the seers are small, and a greater number are consequently given to the larger weights; while in a third, the whole weights are either altogether large or small, so as to more than double or be doubled by others in a neighbouring district. This great variety* of weights, both in the aggregate and subdivisions of the scale, must render necessary a minute attention to the subject in all revenue and commercial matters. The Tables in the Appendix†, which will be found, as far as they go, correct, will shew the different

* A general observer is struck with this endless variety of weights and measures, and thinks it must cause much confusion; but this is not the case. The subject is too familiar with the parties concerned, not to be thoroughly understood; and there cannot be a more conclusive fact, than that this difference (unless where local changes are made for the purpose of fraud or profit) is never made a matter of complaint by the inhabitants of the countries in which it exists.

† These Tables (for which vide Appendix, No. VIII.) were

points of discrepance and agreement. From them the number of maunds to a maunee* appears to form the only multiple of nearly general adoption. It is an avowed usage in many of the principal towns to purchase with a seer somewhat larger (generally two rupees in weight) than that by which they retail; spices, betel-nuts, and other valuable imports, are also sold by a reduced seer.

There is at present, and has always been, in Central India, a great traffic in bills of exchange. An amount of from two to three lacs monthly is drawn from Mhow and Indore, in bills on the treasuries of the Western provinces of Hindustan; and there can be no doubt that nearly double that sum may be negotiated at a favourable rate of exchange at the cities of Oojein and Indore alone. But the bankers, or their agents, who purchase these bills, do it merely to sell them again: indeed, they seldom ask for them till they have settled the distribution among the different Shroffs, or money-brokers, in small sums, of the amount for which they apply; or when induced by accounts of the rate of exchange, which they daily receive, to send them on speculation for sale to Kotah or

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made by that scientific officer Captain Dangerfield; but he had neither the leisure nor the opportunity of rendering them so complete as was desirable.

* Twelve maunds to a maunee is general over all Central India.

Jeypoor; but the latter appears the great mart for this species of paper traffic.

The fluctuation of the rate of exchange in Central India has within late years been very great; but it is now approximated to the level it had in the most peaceable times; and unless disturbed by events tending to create extraordinary demand, it will keep near the standard* arising from the state of commercial intercourse by which it is affected. The provinces of Central India send rich produce to Guzerat and the Deckan; but export few articles to Hindustan; and to Mirzapoor and Benares, from whence a great proportion of their imports are received, hardly any goods whatever are sent: add to this, that the bankers and agents of Oojein and Indore are often the medium of the Guzerat payments for the merchandize from the Bengal provinces, and we shall account for a great proportion of the remittances that are made. There is still another cause: a great number of the Natives of the Company's provinces are in service, or have become inha-

* It was, when I first drew bills, A. D. 1817, at fifteen per cent. discount, between the Oojein and Sonat rupee. The exchange was long kept unfavourable by a combination of Soucars, or bankers. But that was broken, and a competition for bills created. The consequence was, that in two years the exchange was five per cent. premium for bills on Furruckabad, Benares, Delhi, &c. which is about the same rate as formerly when the country was in the greatest prosperity.

bitants* of Central India. These continually require remittances, and have usually recourse to petty Shroffs, or money-brokers, who engage to pay money to their families at their place of residence. There are demands of the same nature for bills on the Poona territories and the Deckan, but not to the same amount; and this accounts for the difference of exchange, which is never so favourable as upon Hindustan.

There are few, if any, of the bankers and merchants that can be termed capitalists, and they have been so mixed and soiled in late revolutions, that those who have not been wholly ruined in fortune, have lost much of that character and those correct habits† which belong to this class of men in other parts of India.

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* The British troops and their followers in Central India being almost all from Hindustan, will by the money they expend in the province, and the demand of bills for the support of their families, balance the decrease of this class, caused by the expulsion of the greater part of the Patan and Rajpoot soldiers of fortune from Hindustan, who have so long overspread this country.

† This has been noticed, and the practice to which it has led. One partially known in many of the towns in India, has lately been common in most of those in Central India, but particularly Oojein, where it has been practised to a very great extent—that of Oant, or accommodation-bills. These are termed on the face of the bills "*Chelaun*," or current, in opposition to "*Rokra*," or ready-money bills. The person who accepts these from the drawers, enters the amount against him in his books at interest, which it continues to bear and be

In the Mahratta governments of Central India, the Sayer, or variable imposts, has always formed a considerable part of the revenue; and latterly so much of their territories has been desolate, that many of the frontier districts produced more in customs than land-rent. Sayer, or duty, is generally deemed a royalty, and is very seldom included in the common grants, by which land is either temporarily or permanently alienated. Zemindars have their dues* in their respective districts; Choukeedars, or watchmen, have also a small right; and when cattle, grain, or goods pass the country of the Bheels, their chiefs have what is termed their cowrie; a term which, though exceeded, marks the moderation of their claim. The heads of some villages, and hereditary officers, levy a small tax upon traders. These imposts are all perfectly understood; and unless in times of confusion, more than the just claim of the party is never demanded. The accounts of the Sayer of every district are kept separate, but by the same officers as are employed in other branches of the revenue department. Customs of Malwa.

If a person rents the customs under any of the

transferable, but without giving a right to any holder to enforce payment. It is a kind of floating credit introduced by a body of individuals, by mutual understanding, to supply the place of capital; but when that abounds, it falls to the ground, being unreal. The dealings in this species of bill-currency are limited to Soucars and money-brokers.

* This is, as upon land, a per-centage on the amount collected.

Mahratta governments of Malwa, he receives a schedule of the usages in collecting* this part of the revenue, and he is expected in no instance to exceed the established rates. Those are comparatively moderate; and they are not even so high as they appear in the tariffs. Duty is collected according to the value of the article; but when in great quantities, as is the case with grain, salt, and cotton, the duties are calculated on the hundred bullock load; and a custom prevails, with variation in different districts, of counting one hundred and twenty, one hundred and fifty, and even as far as two hundred bullock load, to the hundred on which the tax is levied. This has been caused by the necessity, which States with contiguous territories have been under, of decreasing duties to preserve the transit trade, which turns to another route on the imposition of any serious burdens, or upon being encouraged by the imposts being lessened.

There is no branch of their revenue in which the Mahratta governments are more defrauded than that of customs. This arises chiefly from ministers, collectors, and renters, being almost without exception concerned in trade. From the death of Alia Bhye, till within the last

* Instead of Mamool, which is the common revenue term for usage in other parts of India, I find that in general use in Malwa is *Shud Amud*, a compound of two Persian verbs, which means literally "It has been, and is come," and implies all that was originally, and that time had added.

two years, large commercial speculations in Central India had more the character of military enterprises than the occupation of industrious merchants. Every trader had his party of armed men, formed connexions with ministers and commanders of armies, contracted engagements with plundering chieftains and robbers, and had his goods, whether exported or imported, guarded like the baggage of an army. The insurance-companies at Oojein, Indore, and Mundissor, kept small corps, which were supported by the high premiums charged on all articles that were exported or imported between Malwa, Guzerat, the Deckan, and Hindustan. These companies were compelled to bribe the most powerful plunderers of the day, who, in their demands upon them and the merchants, had no other standard than their own temporary interests. It is impossible to form an estimate of the Sayer or customs of a country under such circumstances, but an account of the rate of insurance for three epochs—first, during the reign of Madhajee Sindia and Alia Bhye; secondly, from A. D. 1798 to 1818, emphatically called "The period of Troubles;" and lastly, the present year, —will enable us to judge what it was in the best times; what the worst brought it to; and how far security of commercial prosperity is restored. The Table in the Appendix*, which exhibits this,

* Vide Appendix, No. IX.

was taken from one of the principal insurance-offices. It will be remarked from it, that insurance extends only to a limited number of articles. Grain, salt, wood, and cattle, are never insured. It also appears from this Table, that in the three least bulky, but most valuable articles, opium, bullion, and jewels, the insurance is not only against risk, but the insurers take upon themselves the carriage, and contract to pay all duties, interfering with the occupations of another class of monied men, who will be hereafter noticed, whose chief business is to transport, for a certain amount, all goods duty free, from the towns of Central India to the different provinces with which that country carries on an external traffic.

When the country was in a state of anarchy, duties were collected by the Mahratta governments, and every Rajpoot prince and petty chief, on a calculation of their power to protect* or impede the trade; and there was therefore no

* As an example of this species of exaction may be stated a tax, commonly imposed by Rajpoot chiefs on the frontier, called Balsa, or protection tax. The Raja of Jabooah levied at Inderghur, on all goods passing between Malwa and Guzerat, one rupee on every cart, and four annas on every bullock. This was given up when the country became settled, but not without difficulty, as the Raja, and others of the same class, long resisted my remonstrances against the continuance of an arbitrary impost, which was not only injurious to commerce, but would ultimately have caused a decrease of his own receipts by forcing merchants to take a different road.

standard; but the new impositions were usually kept distinct from the former customs, which were preserved in the books; and all the States in Central India profess their desire of returning to them, and fixing the transit duties at the same moderate rate as they were thirty years ago; but it will be some time before this branch of collection is clear of the abuses to which it has been so long subject.

Imposts are levied upon all animals, or goods, that have not a pass of exemption; and at fords in rivers, foot-passengers even are compelled to pay a trifle. The chief vexations and trouble from this system arise from the intermixed territories, and the consequent great number of places, where large and small customs are to be paid. This the merchants often avoid, by having recourse to persons* who contract, for a certain sum, not only to convey their goods, but to pay all duties to any given place they desire. These persons derive considerable gain from such concerns; partly by

* These persons, commonly agents or brokers, are called Hoondah Barawallah, or Hoondits; and their occupation is termed Hoondah Bara, a compound word which implies two occupations, that of Hoondah or payment, and Bara or contract for carriage. These two were frequently engaged for by the same person, which has given rise to the compound terms of Hoondah Bara and Hoondah Barawallah. The wealthy firm of Poornassa Maun Singh, and now carried on by the brothers Poorna Chund and Seeta Chund, are not only great insurers, but often combine with it the business of Hoondah Bara of the goods they insure.

fair means, but more by collusion with the officers in charge of the custom department, with whom they are invariably connected; and they are sometimes also the renters of the customs.

The monied men, who engage in this line, have as commanding an influence over Brinjarries and the owners of cattle, as those Soucars who engage in revenue concerns have over the cultivators. They make the Brinjarries advances at high interest, and then monopolize the power of employing them; rendering by this process, the recovery of their money secure, and the carriers dependent. Through such means, and the ability (when they were not renters of the customs) to turn trade in their charge to, or from, a particular route, the officers of the customs were compelled to conciliate them; and this influence enabled these contractors to pay the imposts and carry the goods of a merchant as cheap, as if he went through all the detail of hiring cattle, and paying duties himself at every custom-house in the country. A knowledge of this fact will lead us to consider the Table given in the Appendix*, which exhibits the Hoondah Bara (or contract to pay both hire and duties) as a very fair average of the actual amount of these charges, on the transport of merchandize to and from the places specified.

The Table of Hoondah Bara, or hire and duty rates, has not been calculated, like that of insur-

* Vide Appendix, No. X.

ance, at different periods. It is comparatively liable to little fluctuation; for, being dependent more on the means and influence of the contractors than the usual changes of duties or exactions of Government officers, the former have found it their interest to keep it nearly at a known and fixed rate, refraining, no doubt, from engaging in the concern, when the injustice of a particular prince, or the nature of the times, rendered it too hazardous.* But it is remarkable, that throughout

* The principal Insurers of Central India have been, during the late times, remarkable for their boldness and enterprise. In A. D. 1801, a few months before Indore was attacked and destroyed by Sindia's army, merchandize from Mirzapoor for Guzerat, to the value of six lacs of rupees, was at that city, which was already surrounded by Pindarries. Kewaljee (lately dead), the elder brother of the present partners of the firm of Poornassa Maun Singh, (so called from its founder) offered to insure this property beyond the Mhye River, where it was within the limits of Guzerat, for four per cent. It was only seven or eight marches for the carts (amounting to one hundred) on which the goods were loaded; but the danger was increased by the Dhar state having refused its protection. These circumstances, combined with the credit of the insurers, led the merchants to pay the premium. Kewaljee immediately increased a body of two hundred armed men, whom he had always in pay, to six hundred, and made an engagement with Kishnajee Maljee, the Collector of Indore, for three hundred horse and two guns, for which he paid five thousand rupees; nd, placing himself at the head of the convoy, conducted it safe ond the Mhye.

eta Chund, one of the present partners, shewed me the nt of this transaction, taken from his books; by which it

all the distraction with which Central India has been afflicted, this business flourished;—a fact which shews very forcibly the good understanding and confidence which the minuter parts of the organization of a Native Government inspire, even at a period when to a common and general observer it appears nothing but one scene of confusion. A tolerably clear knowledge of their interest, a respect for certain classes, and a veneration for established usages, exist in the mind of the most unjust princes of India; and account for that preservation of system amid anarchy, which to those educated in other countries appears wholly impracticable.

It will be unnecessary to state more minutely the amount of the duties collected in this country. The principles upon which they are realized, are in general the same, with a very remarkable exception of the principality of Doongurpoor, in the province of Bagur, where, with a truly uncivilized policy, marked distinctions are made, according to the class and caste of the traders.*

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appears, that the premium paid was twenty-four thousand, the expenses incurred fourteen thousand, and the profit ten thousand rupees; but he states that the latter was disproportioned to the risk. "No insurer," he added, "ever lived in Malwa, "but my brother Kewaljee, who would have dared to under-"take such an enterprise. But he had a Burrah Chattee," great breast—"B'hot Burrah Chattee," a very great breast

* The most favoured in this Rajpoot country are Chá and Bhâts, who are at once their bards and their priests. T

It is a curious fact, that the principality of Banswarra—which is ruled by a branch of the Doongurpoor family, has many of the same nobles as subjects; belongs to the same province, and whose lands are intermixed with those of that State—should have a different system of

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are sometimes exempted from all duties; and when they do pay, they are never charged but at a very moderate rate. The merchants of Guzerat pay the highest duties; those of Malwa pay five per cent. less; and the native Bunnias of Bagur, with the exception of one district, are still more favoured: the Brinjarries, and the Loobanahs (another class of carriers), inhabitants of Malwa, pay equal duties; while the carriers who are natives of Bagur, pay seven per cent. less: Brahmins pay nearly the same as favoured Bunnias: Châruns pay on opium only, and that at the rate of two rupees and a half every four maunds. Bhâts are exempted from all charges, when they have less than one hundred head of cattle; for every hundred loads (whatever be the article) they pay three rupees, and six for two hundred loads; and if above that, to whatever amount, eleven rupees, except the load be Awl, or red dye, when they pay thirteen.

From all merchants, not excepting the Châruns and Bhâts, the smaller tax called Koowur Sookrie (or money for the breakfast of the Prince) is levied. Duties once taken in this principality, carry the goods through it, except when they come to the town of Doongurpoor, where a fresh sum is levied. It might be supposed, that the distinctions enumerated might lead to collusion; but this could only be practised by the Châruns or Bhâts, and the limited concerns of these classes, their pride and honour, are security to the State against any such practice. They also must know that any detected abuses would probably terminate in the loss of their valued privileges.

collecting duties. In Banswarra, all except Bhâts and Châruns pay nearly alike. The rate of these duties is, with those of Doongurpoor, stated in the Appendix*; as are also the different rates of duties collected on opium in the town of Pertaubghur, which have in their distinctions something of a similar character.

It is impossible, if the limits of this work would permit, to give any detailed account of the fluctuation of the revenues of each province and district of Central India during the last thirty years. The want of authentic records, the changes of Government, those made in the limits of districts, and the jealousy of princes and landholders, offer insuperable obstacles to such an attempt. Suffice it to say, that a great proportion of the revenue of that country was reduced below one-half of what it had been in better times: many districts did not produce one quarter, and others not a tenth of their former revenues. Nay, in one instance† the desolation was so complete, that not

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* Vide Appendix, No. XI.

† The very limits of the Pergunnah, or district, usually called Semunpoor Mukrae, had been lost. It had long ceased to have an inhabitant, except the robbers who sought its forests as a temporary place of refuge, and a few miserable Gonds who dwelt in huts, and subsisted by the produce of the Mowa trees in their vicinity. This country has not only produced no venue, but has hardly been recognized as a Pergunnah for f

only every trace of cultivation, and of the inhabitants of a tract which had been once valuable, had disappeared, but the principality to which it belonged had lost all records of the possession, until the minute investigation into property and rights instituted by the British Government led to its discovery, and to measures being adopted for its restoration.

It is one of the happiest symptoms of the reviving prosperity of the revenues of Central India, that many of those chiefs who have so long plundered that country, have within the last two years revived their rights as hereditary Zemindars or landholders: and such is their present confidence, that several of them are now eager to establish their claims as hereditary officers* of the unclaimed forests and barren rocks of the districts above mentioned.

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years; but yet records were found of its having once contained one hundred and eighty-four towns and villages. Fourteen are already re-peopled, and measures are (under the superintendence of Major Henley) in active progress for reclaiming this desolate tract. This district was formerly famous for its iron-mines. These have been re-opened, and Major Henley has sent me some specimens of very superior ore from one of them.

* The names of those who have brought forward their claims are Devy Singh, Kooshal Singh, and Gooman Singh, all of whom have been for several years noted freebooters.

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The revenue of the territories of the Holkar family in Malwa and Nemaur, which are all they now possess, was, on the whole, greatly deteriorated during the twenty years preceding the peace of Mundissor. That state did not, like Sindia's, save some of its districts from plunder: what foreign enemies spared, internal misrule and faction destroyed. The estimate*, however, which was given of the actual revenue, for the year 1817, of the territories and tribute left to Mulhar Row Holkar, could hardly have been correct, for it amounted only to eight lacs of rupees: the advance was admitted to be very considerable; and the estimate for next year was fourteen lacs of rupees. Twenty-four lacs was then calculated† as the highest to which several years of peace would bring the revenue of this family; but it has already approximated that amount; and there is every ground to conclude that within twenty years from this date (a period necessary for an increase of population) the revenues of this state will not be less than forty lacs of rupees.

Tantia Jogh, the minister of the minor prince Mulhar Row Holkar, professes to make Alia Bhye the model of his imitation, particularly in the management of the revenue; but, supposing he had both the talent and the inclination to

* Vide Major Agnew's Report, dated 17th February, 18

† Vide Major Agnew's Report.

imitate that extraordinary princess, circumstances are very different. She possessed treasure;—he is at the head of a bankrupt and embarrassed Government. Her means were ample, and could afford the most encouraging remissions of revenue on the occurrence of individual misfortune or bad seasons;—the resources at his command are very limited, and as yet barely equal to the expenses of the State. He has, however, made great efforts to increase the revenue; almost all temporary grants have been resumed, and the most active steps taken to promote the rebuilding and repeopling deserted villages. The system of long leases, which has been mentioned as that of Alia Bhye, has been adopted in most of the countries which have reached, or are near, their full value; others continue in management, till they attain through that aid (which Government can best give) the same condition, when it is proposed to rent them also. The whole of the Sayer, or duties, are already rented.

The usual renters in Holkar's government are Brahmins and Bunnias; sometimes three or four are connected in the speculation of renting a district, and the names of all are inserted in the Sunnud. If the renter is not of known opulence, security is required: if a renter of the customs, he must give security for twelve Kists*, or instalments;

* The Sayer, or custom, pays monthly to Government. There are six heavy and six light instalments every

when land is rented, security is required for four or six Kists, according to the number into which the payment for the year is divided. The system of collection pursued by Dowlet Row Sindia has been described. The amount of his revenue in Central India was estimated, before A. D. 1817, at sixty-five lacs eleven thousand rupees. The same estimate* makes his total revenue amount to one crore, sixty-four lacs, forty-seven thousand one hundred and forty rupees, which, no doubt, is gross revenue, and includes Jaghires, &c. His total net revenue cannot (including payments from the British government, and tributes of Rajpoot States) be more than ninety-five lacs of rupees†; and such is the bad management of the revenue, that even this amount is not realized. This supposition is confirmed by the produce of Dowlet Row Sindia's possessions in Central India: these certainly do not yield him at present eighty lacs of rupees clear; and he derives but little from his claims and possessions in Candeish and the Deckan.

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year. The latter are calculated for the rainy months, when little is collected.

* MS Present State of Native Powers; an official record drawn up from the correspondence of the different Residents in A. D. 1816.

† This is the estimate of its amount made by Captain J. Stewart, whose situation as Acting Resident at Gualior gave him the best opportunity of ascertaining the amount.

The revenues of almost every state* in Central India may be calculated as on the increase; and none more than the Mahomedan principality of Bhopal, which was, from causes that have been before mentioned, reduced to the lowest ebb. A Table in the Appendix† will, however, shew at one view the computed revenue of every Prince and Chief in A. D. 1819, and what may be estimated as the probable amount in 1824. But these fine countries cannot be expected to attain that complete degree of improvement of which they are capable, until time and continued tranquillity shall have restored their population, which has been greatly reduced by thirty years of anarchy and continued warfare.

* The principal exception is Kotah, which, for reasons before stated, increased its resources from the desolation of surrounding countries.

† Vide Appendix, No. XII.

CHAPTER XIV.

Population of Central India.

To render as clear and full as the materials that have been obtained will permit, an account of the inhabitants of Central India, it will be first necessary to take a brief view of the different tribes, their character and peculiar habits: next, to advert to such usages as are common to the whole, or a great part of the population; and to conclude, by a classification, that will distinguish those who follow peaceable occupations, from the number who still consider arms as their sole profession. It will be best to preface the account of the Hindus with a short notice of their former masters, the Mahomedans, whose first conquest of Central India was in the beginning of the thirteenth century. It would not appear, that at this period, or any subsequent one, any great number of that religion were settled in this country; but the object is to describe its present inhabitants. Except the Nabob of Bhopal, his family

Mahomedans of Central India.

and dependent chiefs, there are no persons of this class who can boast of any hereditary rank and authority. Ameer Khan, though he possesses two districts, Seronge and Perawur, in Malwa, resides at Tonk Rampoora. His connexion Ghuffoor Khan has been raised by the treaty of Mundissor into a powerful Jaghiredar, and will become the head of a colony of Mahomedans, who are already beginning to settle themselves at his petty capital of Jowrah. Both these partisans rose in the service of Jeswunt Row Holkar, whose earliest fame was associated with the Seids of Sarungpoor, of whom not above one hundred remain with his son; and these, with two or three Hindustanee chiefs, and the Havildar of the Pagah, or household troops, Suddur u Deen, a native of the Deckan, whose family has for three or four generations served that of Holkar, constitute all that remains of the numerous bands of Mahomedans so lately in the service of the Holkar state.

Dowlet Row Sindia has comparatively few military * followers of this tribe; the Rajas of Dhar

* The families of all the Mahomedans of rank in Central India, who have been brought forward by the house of Sindia, are either ruined or on the decline. Mirza Abdul Rahim Beg was raised to great power by Madhajee Sindia, and a number of his family who settled in Malwa, attained rank and distinction; but they have long lost all the reality of power.

Rana Khan, the Mahomedan leader, whom, as has been

and Dewass have none; and not one continues to enjoy rank or power in the service of any of the Rajas West of the Chumbul. None of the Rajpoot chiefs have retained any Mahomedans, except Zalim Singh, who has a great many in his pay, and several chiefs who are settled in the Kotah territories hold lands in remuneration of their own or their ancestors services. The large towns enumerated below * are those in which Mahomedans of the military class (for this tribe has adopted Hindu divisions) principally reside; but in none of them do they form a majority, and in many of them they do not amount to the twentieth part of the population.

Mahomedan class of Cultivators, Artisans, &c.

There are, besides the Mahomedans of the towns in Central India, a number of cultivators, artisans, and labourers of this religion, spread throughout the country. This class is descended from Hindu converts. They are in many places

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stated, the gratitude of Madhajee Sindia raised to high rank, and distinguished by the name of brother, left a weak son, who has a village assigned for his support.

Bappoo Khan, chief of Aggur, and Hera Khan, late manager of Oojein, are of a tribe of Mahomedans who came from the Deckan with Madhajee Sindia, and still possess some rank in the service of his successor.

* Bhopal, Ashta, Sehore, Seronge, Koorwy, Mahomedghur, Ranoud, Kinjiab, Mughoolee, Neyserai, Sheerghur, Shahabad, Kotah, Shujahalpoor, Sarungpoor, Shahjehanpoor, Sonarah, Aggur, Mundissor, Rampoora, Jowrah, Mahidpoor, Oojein, Katchrode, Nolye, Dhar, and Indore.

the Potails of villages, and almost every where Mirdahs, or hereditary measurers of the land. They retain not only the usages, but some even the names* of their ancestors; and are divided

* The Potail of the village of Kujeranah, near Indore, is a Mahomedan, and traces back fourteen or fifteen generations. His ancestors were originally Hindus, and though they have become Mahomedans, they preserve their Hindu names; his name is Kokoo. He has a brother called Nanah, another Kaloo, a nephew Nanah, and so forth. The family or tribe of the Potail are called Naytal: they can only be deemed half-converts, and their dress is exactly the same as that of the Hindu inhabitants.

The Zemindars of Sayorah, three miles from Gualior, and four other villages near it, are Mahomedans: their forefathers were Rajpoots of the Kutchwa tribe, and held the situation of Chowdries of the Kusbah of Gualior, but became Mahomedans in the reign of Shah Jehan, on condition of retaining their rights as Chowdries; they have preserved the original Sunnud granted by that monarch to their ancestors, a copy of which is in my possession.

These Zemindars have other Sunnuds in favour of their Rajpoot ancestors, from Humayoon, from Akber, and even from Baber, all of which Captain Stewart, acting resident at Gualior, (from whom I received this information) has seen.

In the five villages mentioned, there are altogether about two hundred and fifty, or three hundred Musulman families, descendants of these Rajpoots; they have all Musulmany names, and a few of them know something of their prayers, though they admit, that they are obliged to propitiate Bhavani, both by prayer and sacrifices: they likewise recognize Mahadeva, but Madee Shah is the Mahomedan saint they most venerate.

These converts have long lost the office of Chowdry, for

into particular tribes, which in their denomination have reference to their origin, or to the persons* who converted them.

This class of half-converts from the Hindu inhabitants of the country, know little more than the name of their professed faith; and though there is generally a Fakeer, or holy mendicant, within or near their village, who performs religious offices, they are in most instances ignorant even of the forms of prayers. They seldom frequent any place of worship, and are more observant of Hindu usages than their own; indeed their women almost invariably pay their devotions at some Hindu shrine in the neighbourhood. These peculiarities cause them to be very little esteemed by their Mahomedan brethren of the towns, few of whom will intermarry with them, deeming their ignorance, low occupation, and usages, a disgrace to the religion of the former conquerors of India. This class has been recently much increased by the dispersion of the Pindarries, whose Mahomedan chiefs made all the children and many of the men whom they took

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which they became Mahomedans; but they preserve all the Sunnuds and documents with the greatest care, in the hope of still profiting by them at some future period.

* The tribes called Rahimkhanee, Larkhanee, Sheerkanee, are numerous, and take their names from Rahimkhan, Larkhan, and Sheerkhan, who were the persons that first converted the ancestors of these tribes to the Mahomedan faith.

prisoners, profess their faith. Hindus also of low caste that joined them became converts for the sake of honourable association as fellow plunderers. All these have been compelled to resort to peaceable occupations, and now form part of the lowest order of the Mahomedan population of Malwa.

In the larger cities * of Central India there are many of that mercantile tribe of Mahomedans called Borahs †. These engage in every species of commerce. They are wholesale merchants of the first class, as well as pedlars; and sometimes both characters are to be found in the same person. The Borahs who come from the sea-coast of Guzerat into Central India, have imported the improvements of European settlements, even in the construction of their houses ‡ and fur- Borahs.

* Bhopal, Seronge, Oojein, Indore, Rampoora, Mundissor, Katchrode, Rutlam, Shahjehanpoor.

† Besides the Mahomedan Borahs there is a tribe of Brahmins from Nath Devara in Mewar, who have likewise this appellation. The name Borah (unknown to the original country of the Mahomedans of this race) is derived from the Hindu word Behoorah, signifying "traffic."

‡ I visited several of the houses of this tribe at Shahjehanpoor, where a colony of them are settled, and was gratified to find, not only in their apartments, but in the spaciousness and cleanliness of their kitchens, in the well-constructed chimney, the neatly arranged pantries, and the polished dishes and plates, as much of real comfort in domestic arrangements, as could be found any where. We took the parties we visited by surprise, and there could have been no preparation.

niture: they are the chief medium through which the trade in European articles is carried on; and in every town in which they settle, they form a distinct colony. They are united under the spiritual rule of their elected Moullahs, or priests, to whose orders, in conformity with the ancient precepts of the remarkable sect * of Mahomedans to which they belong, they render implicit obedience. The good understanding in which they live with each other strengthens their association; and though they have at times suffered from the violence of power, few of the in-

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* They are of the tribe of Hassannee, once so dreaded in Egypt and Persia for the acts of murder and desperation which they perpetrated in blind obedience to the mandate of their spiritual lord, so famous in the Crusade history under the name of The Old Man of the Mountain. For an account of this sect, vide History of Persia, vol. i. p. 395.

The principal colony of the Borahs of Central India is at Oojein, where twelve hundred families live in four Mahals or wards that are connected with each other, but separated by strong gates from the other parts of the city. No one except a Borah can enter their precincts without leave. The chief Moullah, who resides at Oojein, is appointed by the high priest of this class at Surat: his authority extends over all his tribe in Central India, and as far as Aurungabad South. His orders go to regulate their most minute actions; and he promulgates annually a table of rules for their guidance. He promised me a census of the Borahs in his diocese or charge, whom he estimated, in a conversation I had with him, at nearly ten thousand families, or about forty-five thousand souls.

dustrious classes have escaped so well, during the worst of times, as the Borahs.

The Mooltanies, though in general armed, are to be numbered among the civil classes of Mahomedans in Malwa. They consist of two tribes: carriers (Lodanah), and traders in cattle, who are also cultivators. The habits of the Lodanah Mooltanies are the same as those of the Brinjarries, and, like them, their head-men are called Naicks. The traders in cattle and cultivators obey heads, whom they term Potails, and reside in small colonies: both tribes eat together, but, from having different customs and habits of life, do not intermarry. They trace their origin from Mooltan, but have settled in Central India for seven or eight generations. There are in this country about three thousand Mooltanies, of whom fifteen hundred reside to the West of the Chumbul. Mooltanies.

The military class of Mahomedans in Central India differ little, either in dress, habits, or character, from those of their persuasion in other parts of India. The Afghans of Bhopal have (as has been noticed) some singular usages, which they brought from their native country, and have carefully cherished; but, though a proud race and jealous of their honour, this small colony has been so long surrounded by Hindu communities of superior numbers, to whom they were forced to bend, if not to yield, and have been so chastened by adversity, that they neither have the rudeness Military Mahomedans.

of manners, nor turbulence of character, which belongs to the Patans from Hindustan. Of these latter there were some time ago great numbers in Central India, and they were among the principal disturbers of its tranquillity. This, however, refers principally to the military adventurers, who viewed it as a foreign land. The Mahomedan natives of the country have been for generations in the habit of obeying Hindu masters, and have completely amalgamated with that race; and, without decidedly adopting its habits and customs, they seem in a great degree to have lost their own. Many of the most respectable have taken to trade and manufactures, and these occupations will become more universal, as the little military feeling they have left declines. There cannot be a stronger proof of the condition of the Mahomedan population, than that there is hardly to be met a priest or religious person of any rank, learning, or character, among the best societies of that tribe in Central India.

Hindus. The Hindus, as in all parts of India, are divided into four great castes; but it will be preferable to speak of the inhabitants of this country as nations and classes; for it is in this manner they divide themselves, and keep alive those attachments and prejudices which distinguish them from each other.

The Mahratta conquerors and possessors of Central India may be divided into Brahmin

and Sudras. Though the Princes and leading military chiefs are of the latter tribe, the former, as the efficient agents and instruments of its government, as well as from their religious superiority, merit our first notice.

The character of the Mahratta Brahmins* has been already given: many of this tribe came, on its original conquest, into Central India, while others flocked to the banners of their victorious countrymen, by whom they were employed, as has been stated, in all the principal offices of the Civil governments, as well as in the Army. Their number may at present be computed † at Mahratta Brahmins.

* These are of several tribes, but all inhabitants of the Deckan and Concan.

† Those who pretend to know best, calculate six hundred families (or houses) of Southern Brahmins in Oojein, one hundred and twenty-five in Indore, thirty in Mundissor, twenty Katchrode, ten Nelharghur, twenty-five Rampoora, fifteen Bampoora, eighty Jowud, ten Neemitch, twelve Jowrah, sixteen Mulharghur, fifteen Poonshallee, fifty Nolye, ten Rutlam, fifty Dhar, fifty Dewass, twenty-five Mhysir, eight Mundleysir, forty Shahjehanpoor, fifteen Sarungpoor, three Shujahalpoor, ten Ashta, five Bhopal, fifty Bhilsa, twenty Seronge, one hundred Kotah, capital and country, twenty Neilkerah, ten Sepra. In Sindia's cantonment and the vicinity, it is reckoned, there are about five hundred families; and we may add to the account at least one hundred houses of this tribe not enumerated, which makes the families in Central India upwards of two thousand. There are, on the lowest computation, in performance of religious duties, and employed in the Civil and Military service of Sindia, three thousand men, who have

about two thousand families; and, if we suppose two males arrived at mature age in every family, and add four thousand men of this tribe who have no settled homes, but are in the service of Mahratta princes and chiefs, we shall not have less than eight thousand educated men, a very small proportion of whom are devoted to religious duties, at the utmost not more than one thousand, and the remaining seven thousand constitute that active and abstemious body of men of business, who carry on all the duties of the Mahratta governments, and are the most industrious and intelligent, both of the higher and lower classes of merchants and clerks. We may assume, that there is not one of this class who has not been instructed to read and write; that they are, from the habits of their order, exempt from inebriety and idleness, and that, though very subtle and often unprincipled, they are almost all of decent demeanour, and have remarkable industry and perseverance. The consequence is, they are (generally speaking) the real masters, though only nominal servants of the rulers by whom they are employed, and the

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no settled families, and are many of them adventurers from the Deckan; add to which one thousand of a similar class in the service of Holkar and the petty states of Dhar and Dewass, and there will be, taking the families at two men of mature age in each house, eight thousand Southern Brahmins qualified for employment.

wealth they obtain adds to their influence, both as individuals and as a community.

The manner in which the Southern Brahmins maintain their connexion with the country from which they came, has been before noticed: they will neither eat nor intermarry with the Brahmins of Central India, nor with those of Guzerat or Hindustan, who resort to it; and the consequence is, that their attachment to the Deckan continues as strong as if they had never emigrated. They often visit their native country, or rather that of their ancestors; and those whom business prevents from doing so have almost all annual recruits to the family, male and female, from the Southward. This is a fortunate circumstance, as connected with the establishment of our influence over this large, intellectual, and powerful class of men. Many of them have lost a great deal by the extension of our power, and they may dread its farther progress; but they are also sensible of the repose which that part of their family they deem the stock enjoys under our protection; and the facility of communication with their homes is felt and recognized by all this class as a real blessing.

It is a very extraordinary fact, that out of the host of Southern Brahmins (who were twenty-five years ago at least treble* their present num-

* In a calculation made during the life of Madhajee Sindia nd Alia Bhye, the Southern Brahmins in Central India were timated at thirty thousand.

ber) not one has ever been nominated a Zemindar or Canoongoe of a province, or to any hereditary district or village office, in their conquests North of the Nerbudda.* The Brahmins covet these offices in the Deckan, and nothing but respect for the prejudices of the inhabitants of Central India, and a fear of expatriating themselves by wedding a foreign soil (for this the acceptance of such hereditary offices implies), could have prevented their invading these rights of the natives, in the same manner as had been done by the Northern conquerors of this country.

Mahrattas of the Sudra Caste.

With the exception of the Puar families of Dhar and Dewass, who are Rajpoots, almost all the military classes of Mahrattas in Malwa are Sudras. These were formerly very numerous; but of late years it has been the policy of both the Governments of Holkar and Sindia to entertain the natives of Hindustan in preference to their countrymen; and at present it may be safely asserted, that there are not above five thousand Mahratta Sudras employed in Central India; four thousand in the army of Sindia, and one thousand with Holkar and the Puars. There are some Mahrattas in menial employ, particularly in the

* The Booscottah family, as has been mentioned, obtained the Zemindary of lands in Nemaur South of the Nerbudda, on condition of restoring them to cultivation; but this country borders on Candeish, with many of the districts of which it is intermixed.

household of Sindia and Holkar, but these are few; and a small number more have settled as renters and cultivators; but it may be asserted that the whole of this class, who can be accounted inhabitants of Central India, do not amount to five hundred families, and these are confined to the principal towns. In the census* of Indore, there appear one hundred and fifty-two houses of Mahrattas in that capital; but in one which was taken of eight populous villages in different parts of the country, there are only four houses inhabited by this tribe. The Mahratta citizens, as well as the military of that nation, preserve, like the Brahmins, their love of the Deckan, with which quarter all who are able keep up a constant intercourse and form intermarriages. It is this usage which has prevented their amalgamating with the other inhabitants of Central India.

Mahratta Females.

The females both of the Brahmin and Sudra Mahrattas have, generally speaking, when their husbands are princes or chiefs, great influence, and mix, not only by their power over individuals, but sometimes, as has been shewn, personally, in affairs of the state. If married to men of rank, they have usually a distinct provision and estate of their own, enjoy as much liberty as they can

* Not including the court and camp, which probably contain as many more.

desire, seldom, if ever, wear a veil, and give feasts and entertainments to their friends on births and marriages, and on particular anniversaries. They also expend much money on jewels and cloths, and even the poorest of this class has a set of ornaments.

The higher orders of women, both Brahmins and Sudras, are remarkable for their devotion, or rather superstition; and often become, from their weakness in this respect, the dupes of religious impostors. The constant camp life of the Mahrattas, which has made serious inroads upon the observances and morals of the men, has extended its effects to their women; and the richer classes of these, even among the Brahmins, suffer great injustice from common fame, if they maintain that strict character which Hindu institutions enjoin. It may be remarked, in mitigation of this observation as a general censure, that both the courts of Holkar and Sindia have for these last twenty-five years been exceedingly profligate.

The power which the Mahratta ladies of the families of Sindia, Holkar, and the Puar enjoy, has been described. They have always had great influence in their secret councils, and usage has latterly given them a considerable and increased share in the government, and in some cases they have been the acknowledged heads. They are usually instructed in reading, working, and arithmetic. The management of the horse always

constitutes part of their education, which is directed to qualify them for the duties to which their condition makes them liable to be called.* The Mahratta ladies of rank may be generally described as deficient in regular beauty, but with soft features, and an expression that marks quickness and intelligence. Though almost all, when called forth, have shewn energy and courage, and some of them great talent, yet it must be confessed that few classes of high females exhibit more examples of shameless licentiousness than are to be found among these Mahratta Bhyes, or princesses, whom circumstances have freed from the common restraints which the laws of society in India have imposed upon their sex. The poorer Mahratta females are the companions of their husbands in their labours and their dan-

* In a long conference I had with Bheema Bhye, the daughter of Jeswunt Row Holkar, (detailed in my letter to Mr. Metcalfe, of the first of September, 1819,) she expatiated with much eloquence on the duties inculcated as those of a Mahratta princess, when the interests of her family and nation were at stake. It was, she said, an obligation for such in extreme cases (where she had neither husband nor son) to lead her troops in person to battle. The young lady appealed to Letchma Bhye, a respectable matron, for the truth of her assertion; and it was confirmed, with a qualifying remark that the case must be extreme, which called for such a departure from female habits. Bheema Bhye was, from eccentricity of character, an exception to common rules. She rode with grace, and few excelled her in the management of the spear.

gers; they are generally hard-favoured from constant exposure, and from leading a life of toil and vicissitude. They have the reputation of being faithful wives and good mothers.

Different sects of Brahmins.

Besides the various tribes of Brahmins from the Deckan, there are no less than eighty-four different sects in Central India; but almost all these trace, or pretend to trace, the emigration of their ancestors, and that at no distant period, from neighbouring countries*. The six sects, or Chenattee † tribe of Brahmins alone claim the province of Malwa as their native country, and they even refer back to a period of twenty or thirty generations, when their ancestors came into it; but still they have a pride in being termed Malwa Brahmins, which to the rest would be a reproach.

Guzerat Brahmins.

The Guzerat Brahmins are very numerous ‡; some of these are employed in the offices of religion, while others trade, and gain a respectable livelihood as writers and accountants.

Joudpoor and Odeypoor Brahmins.

Many of the Marwar or Joudpoor Brahmins are also trad-

* They come, or pretend to have come, from the countries of Guzerat, Odeypoor, Joudpoor, Jeypoor, Hindustan, Canoje, and Oude; and few, if their traditions are to be believed, have been settled for more than fifteen generations in Central India.

† These six sects eat and drink with each other, and are, from this, associated, and called Chenattee, or the Six Sects.

‡ In the town of Banswarra, there are one thousand families of Guzerat Brahmins; in that of Doongurpoor two hundred; and at Pertaubghur fifty.

ers, but the great mass from that country, as well as from Odeypoor, are labourers and cultivators, forming indeed a very considerable proportion of the most industrious husbandmen of Central India.

Hindustan Brahmins.

The Hindustan Brahmins are not so numerous, and a considerable proportion of them are concerned in trade. Those from Oude (classed with the natives from Behar, and known by the general name of Purbeahs, or Eastern Brahmins) are almost all soldiers, and seldom, if ever, settle in this country. A few of the military Brahmins of the above tribes, and of those from Benares and Canoje, are supported by the charity of the Mahratta princes and chiefs, while many have found employment as servants of the rich Southern Brahmins; and the latter, though they will neither eat nor intermarry with these sects, have studied their convenience by coming to the conclusion, that they are not defiled by the lowest Purbeahs giving them water, washing their clothes, and performing other menial offices.

Rangree Brahmins.

All the Brahmins of Central India, excepting the Southern, are classed by the Mahratta conquerors under the general head of *Rangree*, or barbarous. They are in general a quiet, submissive race, with the exception of the Purbeah or Eastern Brahmins, who, coming from Oude and Behar, filled the ranks of the insubordinate corps of regular infantry which, for so many years, domineered over this country, and treated its inhabitants

with such insolence and rapacity, as to render them equally dreaded and hated as the Patans.

Bundelcund Brahmins.

The Bundelcund Brahmins, and some of the lower orders from Canoje, who come annually to Central India, will be noticed among the classes to whose level and association their impure habits and crimes have degraded them.

There is, perhaps, no part of India where the tribes of Brahmins are so various, and their numbers so great, as in Central India; but there is certainly none where there are so few of them either wealthy, learned, or where there is less attention paid to the religious rites of the Hindu faith, or to its priests, by the rest of the population.

The Mahomedans have ever marked the Brahmins with particular hatred; and the Rajpoots of Central India have, for reasons that will be stated, never shewn much favour to this race. From the Brahmin ministers and chiefs of the Mahratta princes, who conquered this country, a change might have been expected; but these were, in general, able worldly men, from whom the ignorant priests and idle mendicants of their own order obtained less attention than they would have received from Hindus of equal rank, but with less pretensions to sacred knowledge; and with the exception of Alia Bhye*, there has

* Some of the Bhyes or ladies, have been religious and

been no Mahratta sovereign in Central India, who has had a just claim to the character of pious. Her charity to this tribe was unbounded, and hordes of Brahmins from the most distant quarters flocked to her court. Such encouragement is not likely to recur; but the tranquillity that is now established will restore to Oojein the annual crowd of pilgrims, to which it is from its high rank among Hindu * places of worship entitled, but of which it has been in a great degree deprived by the distractions of the last thirty years. The holy shrine of Onkar Mundattah, which has so long been shut to Brahmins and pious Hindus by the bands of robbers who encircled it, is once more open to pilgrims. These also resort in numbers to Mhysir; and the feeling entertained by the present government of Holkar towards every thing connected with the name of Alia Bhye is leading to the establishment of charitable institutions, and to the erection of religious buildings, which promise to make this city as attractive from its beauty as its holiness.

The Rajpoots next demand our attention.— These form (including all their tribes and branches Rajpoots.

charitable. Rukmah Bhye, the wife of Tuckajee Holkar, was a pious woman, and very generous to Brahmins.

* It is one of the seven sacred places of Hindu worship, and ranks with Benares, Oude, Hurdwar, Muttra, Dwaraca, and Conjeveram.

down to the half-bred, who boast this proud race as their fathers,) a very great proportion of the population of Central India. They were, as before stated, the invaders and conquerors of this country. In the oldest records we have of its history, we find the Puar and Chowan Rajpoots its rulers: these last were subdued by the Afghans; but from the character of the struggles which ensued between them and the Mahomedans, it is obvious they were in great numbers and had taken deep root.

We know from concurring evidence, that all the Rajpoot tribes trace their origin from Ayodhya or Oude; and their chiefs in this part of India, whom they term Princes, were probably no more than leaders, or vicegerents, from the Hindu sovereigns of Canoje. The Odeypoor family, which is admitted by all to be the most ancient of this class of rulers, though they trace their descent from the celestial Ramchunder, do not appear in authentic history before Bappoo Rawul
A.D. 104. took Chittore, in the year of the Sumbhut 191. The title of Rawul, still cherished by some Rajpoot princes, descended from this Prince to many of his direct successors; but the thirteenth in descent assumed that of Rana*, which still con-

* This family has the distinctive appellation of Sesodya, which is stated in one of my manuscripts to have been assumed by the first Rana, in compliment to a favourite Brahmin who came from a village of that name.

tinues. An event of more importance is stated in a manuscript, from which these facts are taken, which asserts that in the year of the Sumbhut 1191, this Rajpoot ruler conquered the Bheels; A.D. 1112. and we learn from other accounts and traditions, that a great part of Mewar and the Western parts of Central India were, so late as the eleventh century, in possession of that race, while we know that the Gonds have been even more recently driven out of some of its Southern districts. There is, in short, every reason to conclude, that, before the Mahomedan invasion, the armies of the Monarchs of Canoje and Delhi, which were chiefly composed of the Rajpoot tribe, made a partial conquest of this province. When these monarchs were in their turn obliged to yield to the Mahomedan invaders, the tide of the warlike clan of Rajpoots rolled South, and in its course overwhelmed the weaker inhabitants of the countries towards which it was impelled. Such is the progress of all changes of population in half-civilized nations. The Rajpoots were, no doubt, from the prejudices of the lower classes of Hindus, with whom they intermingled, received in most countries with feelings that facilitated their usurpation of the government. They were, from caste, superior; and, accordant with national institutions, as well as religious prejudices, it was a duty to obey and serve them. Their intercourse with females of a lower tribe

produced a mixed race, who inherited, with a share of the bodily strength, the pride of their fathers. These endeavoured to lose all recollection of the baseness of their mother's blood, and sought, by assuming the same names, and adopting similar habits, to approximate themselves to their male progenitors; but, though many of the spurious tribes were cherished as useful adherents, they were not permitted to mix or intermarry with the higher classes, and gradually fell into a lower rank in the same community.

The Rajpoot families who have exercised power, and who stand the first in reputation, are the Sesodyas, Rhattories, Kutchwa, and Chowans. The Sesodyas, which include the Odeypoor family and all its branches, are considered the highest in rank, from their rule being the most ancient. A Rhattore* Prince, who was driven out of Hin-

* A book entitled Bunsawullee Rhatoree, or a Genealogical Account of the Tribe of Rhattore, was brought to me the 30th June, 1820, by Suntook Ram, the Karbar or Minister of the Raja of Amjherra. This roll, for such was its form, was written in the dialect of the Rajpoots called Bhokah, and by the Mahrattas Rangree Bhokah. Its dimensions were taken, and it measured exactly ninety feet in length by sixteen inches wide, and was close written on both sides. Parts of it were written many years ago, but it is continually receiving additions, as the families increase. Suntook Ram boasted that there was not a Rhattore of any rank or name that was not to be found in this roll; and it appears, from the short examination I have been able to give it, to contain a

dustan in A. D. 1111*, succeeded in establishing himself as Prince of Marwar, or Joudpoor, in A. D. 1155; and his descendants have enjoyed more power than any other of the Rajpoot tribes in Central India, in which several of them have obtained principalities.† The Kutchwa Rajpoots, who stand high, from the reigning family of Jeypoor being of that race, are numerous in Central India, but there is no prince or chief of the tribe within its limits. The Rajas of Boondee and Kotah are of the Hara, a celebrated and numerous branch of the Chowans, to which the branch of Kychee also belong. This latter owes its glory, in this part of India, to the once famous, but now fallen family of Ragooghur, whose history has been given in this work.

The tribes enumerated intermarry with each other; but they will not condescend to mix with

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correct record of all the families of this tribe who have settled in Central India.

* Seojee, the great-grandson of Jychund, the Monarch of Delhi, who lost his life and throne in an action with Shah u Deen Mahomed Ghous, was the Prince who first emigrated, attended by two hundred followers, into Marwar, and after a lapse of forty-four years, filled (according to his historians) with vicissitudes of fortune, succeeded in establishing himself Prince of Pallee, then the capital of the present country of Joudpoor.

† The Rajas of Rutlam, Jabooah, Sillanah, Seeta Mhow, Kutch Baroda, Amjherra, Mooltan, and Baglee, are Rhattore, and claim kindred to the Joudpoor family.

those of lesser fame, or with families that have been in any way degraded. The Puar Rajpoots are beyond all others celebrated in the ancient history of Central India; but they were subdued by the Mahomedans, and had long ceased to exercise rule*, when a chief of this race was restored to Dhar, the very seat of his ancestors. But he came as the retainer of a Mahratta Prince, and his family had, while in the Deckan, eaten and intermarried with Mahratta Sudras; the consequence is, that, though the Puars have been, and now are, high in rank and power, the poorest of the proud Rajpoot chiefs whom they count among their dependents, would disdain to eat with them, or to give them a daughter in marriage.

The Puars of Dhar consider themselves, and are considered by others, as Deckanies, or Southern people; but there are numerous Rajpoots of that race†, and many others of little note, who trace their ancestors from Hindustan, while the Dooriah and Sulunkee tribes, who are possessed of great tracts of land and hereditary rights, come from Guzerat.

The Omuts have been mentioned as giving

* The present Ruler of the petty State of Soante claims descent from the ancient Puars of Dhar. The family took refuge in the wilds of Soante on the Mahomedan conquest.

† The only Puar family of rank that trace from Vicramaditya, the ancient head of the Puars of Central India, are the petty Rajas of Soante.

their name to a large district. They were a tribe of no fame, but have been recently raised to rank and estimation * by one of their chiefs, Achil Singh, Dewan of Nursinghur, who, by the expenditure of a very large amount, has obtained in marriage for his son, the daughter of a near relation of the Prince of Odeypoor. This fact and several others may be adduced as proofs that many of the distinctions among the Rajpoots and other Hindus are those of family, not of caste; and that their rules can bend, and are to be referred to usage, not to religion.

The Rajpoots of Central India pay comparatively little attention to Brahmins. A holy man of this tribe has a share of their respect and veneration, but their priests are the Charuns and Bhâts, who, to the direction of their superstitious votions, add the office of chroniclers of their cherished fame and that of their ancestors. These classes have rank as the genealogists of proud and ignorant chiefs; and favoured individuals often combine with that office the station of counsellors, and establish an ascendancy over the minds of their

Charuns and Bhâts.

* Many of the principal families in Malwa have, since this high connexion was formed, consented to eat with the Rajas of Omutwarra. This establishes their rank; wherever there is a doubt upon such a subject with Rajpoots, (particularly in cases of supposed illegitimacy,) it can only be settled by some chief of high birth and character eating out of the same dish with the person on whom the doubt or stigma rests.

superior, which is stronger from being grounded upon a mysterious feeling of awe. It is to them that the proudest Rajpoot looks for solace in adversity, and for increased joy and exultation in prosperity. We must, therefore, before the character and peculiar habits of this race are noticed, say a few words of those who exercise so powerful an influence over their lives and destiny.

Both Charuns and Bhâts boast of celestial origin: the former are divided into two tribes—the Kachilee, who are merchants, and the Maroo, who are bards. These again branch out into one hundred and twenty other tribes, many of whom are the descendants of Brahmins and Rajpoots. The Kachilee and Maroo Charuns do not intermarry; but the latter intermarry with Rajpoots. There are numerous Bhâts in Hindustan, but Charuns are little if at all known. This extraordinary community appears to have arisen out of that condition of society into which their kindred tribe (for they deem themselves, though specially created by Mahadeva*, as appertaining to the Rajpoot race) had fallen. The rude chiefs of that

* According to the fable of their origin, Mahadeva first created Bhâts to attend his lion and bull; but the former killing the latter, every day gave him infinite vexation and trouble in creating new ones. He therefore formed the Charun equally devout as the Bhât, but of bolder spirit, and gave him in charge these favourite animals. From that period no bull was ever destroyed by the lion.

military tribe, when driven from Hindustan, were broken and disunited. War was their only occupation, and feuds became so deadly that all confidence ceased. The oppression of the Moghul government having made many of them plunderers, a great proportion of the tracts where they settled soon became impassable to travellers or merchants. This was particularly the case with the whole of the countries West of Central India, which stretch along the left bank of the Indus from Bicanere to Cutch.

The Brahmin priests, who were the religious guides of the Rajpoots while they remained on the banks of the Ganges, do not appear to have followed them, in any numbers, to their remote habitations on the verge of India. Beings were therefore wanted, on whose sanctity weak and superstitious minds could repose, who had, or pretended to have knowledge; whose faith was trusted, and who would constitute a link between men who could not confide in each other: such the Charuns soon became, and the usages they adopted give a singular picture of the society which they may be said in a great degree spiritually and morally to govern.

The Charuns must understand the rites of worship, particularly those of Siva and Parvati, the favourite deities of the Rajpoots. They are taught to read and write, and the class who traffic (generally in camels and horses) are shrewd men

of business; while the Maroo Charuns apply their skill to the genealogy of tribes, and to the recital of numerous legends (usually in verse), celebrating the praises of former heroes, which it is their duty to chant, to gratify the pride and rouse the emulation of their descendants.

The Charun's chief power is derived from an impression, that it is certain ruin and destruction to shed his blood, or that of any of his family, or to be the cause of its being shed. They obtain a high rank in society, and a certain livelihood, from this superstitious belief, which they are educated to inculcate, and which they teach their children to consider as their chief object in life to maintain.

A Charun becomes the safeguard of travellers and the security for merchants; and his bond is often preferred among the Rajpoots, when rents and property are concerned, to that of the wealthiest bankers. When he trades himself, he alone is trusted, and trusts, among the community to which he belongs.

The Charun, who accompanies travellers likely to be attacked by Rajpoot robbers, when he sees the latter approach, warns them off by holding a dagger in his hand, and if they do not attend to him, he stabs himself in a place that is not mortal, and taking the blood from the wound, throws it at the assailants with imprecations of future woe and ruin. If this has not the desired effect, the

wounds are repeated; and in extreme cases one of the Charun's relations, commonly a female child, or an old woman, is made a sacrifice. The same process is adopted to enforce the payment of a debt to himself, or a claim for which he has become security. It is not unusual, as the next step, to slay himself; and the catastrophe has been known to close in the voluntary death of his wives and children.

The females of the Charuns are distinct from all the other population, both in dress and manners. They often reside in separate villages, and the traveller is surprised to see them come out in their long robes, and attend him for some space, chanting his welcome to their abode. The Charuns are not only treated by the Rajpoots with great respect (the highest rulers of that race rising when one of this class enters or leaves an assembly), but they have more substantial marks of regard. When they engage in trade, lighter duties are collected from them than others. They receive at all feasts and marriages* presents that are

* Charuns, particularly of the Maroo class, who are mendicants, attend at feasts and marriages in great numbers, and are in the habit of extorting large sums, at the latter, by threats (if not satisfied) of sprinkling their blood on the parties met on this joyous occasion; and these threats have been too often carried into execution to make them be deemed idle by the superstitious Rajpoots. Bheem Singh, the son of the Raja of Baglee, settled, when the Rawul of Banswarra was on a visit to me, that he should marry the latter's near relation.

only limited by the ability of the parties. The evil consequences of a Charun being driven to undergo a violent death, can be alone averted by grants of lands and costly gifts to surviving relations; and the Rajpoot chief, whose guilt is recorded (for all these sacrifices are subjects of rude poems) as the cause of such sacred blood being shed *, is fortunate, when he can by any means have his repentance and generosity made part of the legend.

This extraordinary class of men, who have grown up (in spite of habits that are revolting to humanity) as a correction of barbarism, are most numerous and powerful among the petty Rajpoot chiefs of Western India; but their influence extends also over Odeypoor, Joudpoor, Jeypoor, and even Malwa. The latter province has indeed been occasionally the scene of some of their most remarkable Chandies (such is the term given to their self-sacrifices); many of which

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But the marriage was delayed on account of a preliminary demand, that Bheem Singh should satisfy the Charuns and Bhâts who might attend at the wedding; the latter hesitated, from the amount (on account of the rank of the Rawul of Banswarra) being likely to be too great for his means. He told me it might ruin him, and that, once pledged, he was likely, from the common extravagance of their demands, and violence in enforcing them, to have the option between poverty and disgrace in his tribe.

* A remarkable instance of a Chandy occurred at Tirlah in the district of Amjherra, about seventy years ago.

might be quoted* to shew how the feelings of the human breast may be turned, by the reiteration of precept and example, from that current in which God and nature meant they should flow to an exactly opposite course. The aged and the young among Charuns are taught not merely to desire to part with existence whenever the honour of their family or the class to which they belong calls for the sacrifice, but from the feeble female of fourscore to the child of five years of age, they are eager to be the first to die; and this is no rare feeling, but one which appears, from the history of this tribe, to belong to every individual of this singular community.

The Bhâts, or Rows, as they are sometimes called by distinction, seldom sacrifice themselves; but, as chroniclers or bards, they share power, and sometimes office, with the Charuns. Among the Bheelalahs and lower tribes they enjoy great and exclusive influence; they give praise and fame in their songs to those who are liberal to them, while they visit those who neglect or injure them, with satires, in which they usually reproach them with spurious birth and inherent meanness. Sometimes the Bhât, if very seriously offended, fixes the figure of the person he desires to degrade

* I collected a great number of cases well authenticated, not only of individuals but of families, and in two instances I found that the Charun inhabitants of a village had sacrificed themselves.

on a long pole, and appends to it a slipper as a mark of disgrace. In such cases the song of the Bhât records the infamy of the object of his revenge. This image* usually travels the country, till the party or his friends purchase the cessation of the ridicule and curses thus entailed.† It is not deemed in these countries within the power of the Prince, much less any other person, to stop a Bhât, or even punish him for such a proceeding: he is protected by the superstitious and religious awe, which, when general among a people, controls even despotism.

The community of Charuns and Bhâts is said to be regulated and governed by rules well understood and implicitly obeyed. This must be the case; for the society could not, if every individual had an arbitrary right of action, have so long

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* This image is termed Pootla.

† In 1812, Sevat Ram Seit, one of the principal Soucars of Holkar's Court, offended one of these Bhâts, by pushing him rudely out of his Dokan (or shop), where he had come to ask alms. The man made a figure of him, to which he attached a slipper, and carried it to Court, and every where sang the infamy of the Seit. The latter, though a man of wealth and influence, could not prevent him, but obstinately refused to purchase his forbearance. His friends after some months subscribed eighty rupees, and the Bhât discontinued his execrations, but said it was too late, as his curses had taken effect; and the superstitious Hindus ascribe the ruin of the banker, which took place some years afterwards, to this unfortunate event.

preserved its power, the abuse of which must have dissolved it. Their superiors are, in general, those whom talent and the favour of princes have raised to rank and wealth.

The Bhâts of Central India differ little in dress from the other inhabitants; but the Charuns are distinguished by their large turbans, loose vests and trowsers, from all others. Being chiefly from Kattywar, they wear a costume resembling that of the inhabitants of the province from which they came.

Rajpoots.

In describing the habits and character of the Rajpoots, it is unnecessary to say any thing of the foreigners of this class who came into Central India for service. They are natives of Western Hindustan, Oude, or Behar, and preserve their own usages, quite distinct. The latter may be divided into soldiers and cultivators: almost all of this tribe obtain their livelihood by the sword or plough, and even the husbandmen have arms in their houses, cherish the martial habits of their ancestors, listen to the Bhâts who visit their villages, and preserve their genealogy; and the poorest of this race contributes his mite to support a bard, who annually soothes his vanity by reciting the actions of his forefathers, and, by keeping a register of his family, enables him to marry his sons and daughters without degrading it. Indeed, the Charuns and Bhâts derive their

chief importance from being the conservators* of the purity of the different Rajpoot classes: they arrange nearly all marriages, and when a wealthy Rajpoot of low caste desires elevation† by a connexion with a superior family, he must give a high bribe to these arbiters of rank, before his object can be accomplished.

The military Rajpoots of Central India, including the Western parts of Malwa and the rugged tracts‡ which separate that province and the Odeypoor country from Guzerat, are all under Rawuls, Rajas, and Thakoors; and many of the latter assume the title of Raja: but though wealth, or a certain degree of independence, may lead to this title being granted by courtesy, they neither are considered by others, nor consider themselves, on a footing with the head of the family to which they belong, and to whom in all domestic concerns, and in extreme cases of dan-

* They are considered in this light by the Government of the country, and their evidence is always taken as the best in proof of claims to land that depend upon the descent of the party.

† The wealthy Zemindar of Tal Mundawul, who is of the low tribe of Dhoriah, lately obtained for his son the daughter of a distressed Thakoor or Baron of the Rhattore race, but not before he had expended large sums on the Bhâts who had negotiated this alliance, and settled a house and a small estate on the bride's father.

‡ This tract, besides Doongurpoor and Banswarra, includes the petty states of Lunawarra, Soante, and Barreah.

ger, they continue (however politically independent) to pay deference and allegiance.

Rajas or Princes of the Rajpoot tribe, West of the Chumbul.

There are to the West of the Chumbul twelve Rajas*, who owe fealty to Dowlet Row Sindia, Mulhar Row Holkar, and the British government; among whom there is none whose revenue exceeds six lacs of rupees per annum, while there are several that have hardly one lac† when their country is in a state of prosperity. These Rajas have all dependent upon them a number of Thakoors, who with their followers are supported by grants of land: their numbers and their adherents will be hereafter noticed; suffice it to say, that some almost rival the dignity and wealth of their superiors. Arjoon Singh of Ghurry is the first lord in Bagur, and has long, from personal character and rank, been nearly on a level with his princes, (for he possesses lands and owes allegiance to both the Rawuls of Doongurpoor and Banswarra); but he has never assumed a higher title than Thakoor, probably from his being of a different tribe from

* The tributaries of the British government are—the Rawul of Doongurpoor, the Rawul of Banswarra, the Raja of Pertaubghur, the Raja of Barreah, and the Raja of Ally Mohun. Those of Dowlet Row Sindia are—the Raja of Rutlam, the Raja of Seeta Mhow, the Raja of Sillanah, the Raja of Amjherra, the Raja of Lunawarra, the Raja of Soante;—of Holkar, the Raja of Jabooah.

† A lac is one hundred thousand: the rupee every where varies, but its general value is 2*s*. 3*d*.

that of the Raja's family*, while no less than three lords (those of Sillanah, Kutch Baroda, and Moultan) of the Rutlam family have taken the name of Raja; but they are all near relations of the prince, and it is on this ground the distinction is conceded to them.

The Rajpoot States East of the Chumbul.

To the East of the Chumbul, the first great Raj or principality is that of Kotah, which has from its revenue and army the rank of a state, though it owes allegiance and pays tribute to the British government. Among the great lords who are or profess to be dependent on the Maha Row, or Prince of Kotah, there are, the Regent Zalim Singh, who has received the title of Raj Rana from the Prince of Odeypoor; the Lords of Indurghur†, of Ghynta, Bumoulcah, and others; all of whom are called Maharajas, but enjoy no distinct power, except over their own family and a few personal adherents. Several ancient principalities‡ have been subdued by Dowlet Row Sindia. Few of the relations of these great Rajpoot families are left in the country; though many of their adherents still remain, and have preserved their lands and property. The policy of the Mahratta rulers has prevented the employment of this race in their armies;

* The Rawuls are Sesodyas; Arjoon Singh is a Chowan.

† These chiefs are all relations of the Maha Row.

‡ Among these are Narwar, Chanderee, Rhatghur, Bahadurghur, Sheopoor, and Ragooghur.

the consequence has been, that some of them continue plunderers, while others have become cultivators; but their reduction is too recent to have changed the latter into a submissive peasantry, and the presence of a considerable force has hitherto been constantly required in these countries to repress their recurring insurrections. A great proportion, therefore, of the Rajpoots in this quarter, though their princes are destroyed and their spirit much broken, must still be considered as belonging to the military class of Rajpoots.

The petty Rajas of Nursinghur, Kilchcepoor, and Rajghur, in Omutwarra, (tributaries of Sindia and Holkar,) still retain military adherents of their own tribe. The Raja of Baglee and many others East of the Chumbul, who were Thakoors and Zemindars, cannot be classed among the princes of this race; nor can we assign that rank to the numerous Rajpoot chiefs who continue, like them, Zemindars of districts and large landholders; or to those who from their condition are denominated Grassiahs, and have till lately subsisted on plunder. The numbers of those hereditary plunderers who have continued to claim a Tanka, or portion of the revenue, on the ground of ancient rights, and from their assumed power to disturb the country, will be hereafter stated; at present it is enough to observe, that the British government is gua-

rantee to many engagements with chiefs of this class in the countries and districts contiguous to Oojein and Indore.

The Rajpoots, who have been enumerated as belonging to the military classes in Central India, are in their dress, manners, and usages, distinct from the other inhabitants of the country, and their features and shape denote them a superior race. Their chief pride, or distinctive marks, are turbans of an extraordinary size, and an embossed figure of a horse and the sun, which they wear round their necks. This mythological emblem is quite indispensable. It is, with all who can afford it, made of gold; others are contented with silver; but the poorest Rajpoot makes this figure the first present to his infant male offspring. It is their personal deity, and receives their daily adoration. It is common also to wear the figure of a distinguished ancestor or relation, engraved in gold or silver. This image, usually that of a warrior on horseback, is sometimes worshipped, but its chief utility is as a charm to keep at a distance ghosts and evil spirits.

The customs of the military class of Rajpoots differ in no essential degree* from others of their tribe; but they have fallen from those high sen-

* It is a peculiar usage of the Rajpoots that they never marry in their own tribe, viewing it in that objectionable light which others do a marriage with their near relations.

timents, and that proud honour, by which, if we can believe their records, they were once distinguished. Though the Rajpoot Princes were conquered by the Kings of Delhi, their policy afterwards employed these Hindu warriors to keep in check their own turbulent bands, and to extend their conquests over the Southern regions of India; so that, as they destroyed with one hand, they elevated with the other; and a great proportion of this class in Central India trace their rise from the Emperors of Hindustan. On the decline of the family of Timour, their Rajpoot subjects became first the dupes, and afterwards the prey, of the artful and rapacious Mahrattas. The history of their fall has been given; suffice it, in speaking of their character, to add, that it appears to have been deteriorated even more than their condition: though they have not lost their courage, and retain many feudal usages and feelings, they have ceased to be a nation. Too ignorant to redeem their former condition by intellectual effort, too prejudiced to seek the aid of others, and too radically divided by the quarrels of families and tribes, to unite in any great design connected with the restoration of their former power, the great majority of the military Rajpoots in Central India appear to have given themselves up to a life of indolence and sensuality, indulging, as far as their means admit, in vicious habits, but particularly by intoxicating themselves with strong liquors and

opium. In the extreme use of the latter drug, which they indiscriminately take, both in its liquid and dry state, they indulge to an incredible excess*. Their women also are in the habit of taking opium, and give it to new-born children. The heavy leaden eye-brows of the men proclaim an usage which, so far from denying, they speak of as constituting the chief pleasure of existence. It would appear as if, feeling themselves fallen and insignificant in the society of which they were long the head, they sought relief in the dreams afforded by this seducing stimulant, from the vacuity of mind, if not degradation, which belongs to their actual condition. There are exceptions to this character of the Rajpoots; many, as has been recounted, have shewn themselves, in their gallant efforts to resist oppression, worthy of the race of Ramchunder, and there are still among them men of great talent:—Zalim Singh of Kotah,

* Several of the Rajpoot Princes West of the Chumbul seldom hold a Durbar without presenting a mixture of liquid opium, or, as it is termed, "Kusoombah," to all present. The minister washes his hands in a vessel placed before the Rawul, after which some liquid opium is poured into the palm of his right hand. The first in rank who may be present then approaches and drinks the liquid. The minister washes his hands again, and pours into his palm another dose for the second in rank, and so on. In stanching feuds, it is customary for the parties to drink this intoxicating liquid from each other's hands, which is deemed by Rajpoots an almost sacred pledge of friendship.

whose life is from natural decay drawing to a close, has for half a century evinced an energy and wisdom that would redeem a tribe:—but such, nevertheless, as they have been described, is the general character of the individuals of this race, who continue to consider themselves above industrious occupations, and still cling to the shadow of that power and eminence which they once enjoyed.

Rajpoot Females.

The females of the class of military Rajpoots, though they are strictly secluded, have still acted a prominent part in all the great and petty revolutions to which this tribe has been subject. Family pride appears with them the chief motive of every action, and they are at all moments ready not only to brave danger, but to sacrifice their lives to support it. This spirit, which has in good times led to their affording examples that have placed them as high in the songs of the bards as their fathers or husbands, has latterly had its chief exercise in disgraceful domestic disputes. The Ranies (princesses) or Thakooranies (ladies) of the princes and lords of this tribe (each of whom has three or four) are in constant rivalry, if not hostility, with each other; nor can the husband prevent these quarrels, for if any of the ladies are of higher birth than him, which frequently happens, they exact his respect, if not obedience. These ladies have generally separate estates for their support; and when the prince is,

from old age, mental debility, or derangement, unfit to govern, the feuds of a Rajpoot family go to great extremes. The succession to the petty state or barony is a matter of active contention and dispute for years before the possessor dies: his wives have their relations near them; they sometimes hire troops, and have Vákeels, or agents, at neighbouring courts, with which they maintain an active correspondence. If there be no children, the adoption of an heir is a farther source of quarrels. If one of the wives has a son, she is an object of envy to all the rest; the charge of imposition or bastardy is attempted to be proved, and the habits and character of many of these bold females often give some colour to the accusation. In such cases, general assemblies of the chiefs and retainers are called; those oaths considered most sacred by the tribe are administered; the most respectable person in the family (if not connected with the quarrel) is called upon to prove his conviction of the child's legitimacy, by eating with it*, which no Raj-

* This was most fully exemplified a short time ago, in the case of the succession to the principality of Rutlam, which was referred to me for decision.

The Rany Chundewut claimed for her infant son the right of succession to the Guddy or throne, while the other females of the imbecile Raja, supported by Goomanjee the minister, wanted to bastardize the child. After many unsuccessful attempts to reconcile the parties, it was proposed and agreed

poot of high honour would do, if he doubted its birth. But all these appeals and trials do not prevent such family divisions giving rise to every species of crime. Spurious children are sought and obtained, sometimes by clandestine means, at other times by a departure from the laws of virtue. Feelings of such a nature are so

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to by all, that if the Rana of Odeypoor, with whose house the child was nearly allied by marriage, consented to allow his son to eat with him, (the Rana himself can eat with no one,) he ... then be considered legitimate. The Rana was accordingly applied to; his answer to Captain Tod was as follows:—

"The Ranajee assures Captain Tod, that Bulwunt Singh is "the son of Ooda Bhye: she is my sister, consequently the boy "is my nephew. He is also nephew of the Rawul Jee of Sool-"umber, who is my brother. What doubt can there be of my "allowing my son to eat with the son of the Ooda Bhye? not "only he, but all the sixteen Omrahs, shall sit together and eat "from the same dish with Bulwunt Singh. Of this there can "be no doubt; you will, if you think proper, write to General "Malcolm in the strongest manner, and tell him that if he "will send Ooda Bhye here with my nephew, we shall all eat "together."

The princess and her son were sent to Odeypoor. A person attended on the part of the minister of the accusers, and one was sent by me. In the presence of all these parties, the son of the Rana of Odeypoor ate from the same dish, and at the same time, with the young Bulwunt Singh. This put an end to all objections to the boy being declared the heir to the principality, which was a point of local importance, from the princes of Rutlam being, as before stated, the head of a large family, and commanding the allegiance of many Rajpoot chiefs.

engendered by these proceedings, that murders (usually by poison) are quite common; and if a minor succeeds, his mind and body are often so enervated before he is of age, that he is incapable of disturbing those who govern in his name. It may be added, that this is at present the condition of three-fourths of the high Rajpoot families of Central India; but it is to be accounted for. It was the study of the Mahrattas to encourage quarrels and feuds, which at once degraded and divided a race, whom they could neither reconcile to their rule, nor completely subdue. A different policy is now pursued; and the marked abhorrence which has been shewn to such scenes of family discord, and to the crimes it produces, appears already to have had a salutary effect. Our mediation and interposition between the few high families of the tribe who remain subject to Mahratta superiors, while it gives to the latter all the revenue they have a right to claim, extends our influence over the former; and that, if well directed, must soon give to the Rajpoot princes and chiefs a new character, and, by changing their habits and sentiments, render these disturbers of the public peace its best supporters.

Among the Rajpoot cultivators of Central India, a number of the same tribe as the higher families are to be found; but the Dhooriah, Gelott, Solunkee, Purmar, and Chendalee, are most numerous: they are in many places Potails of

villages, and inherit small grants, which have been given to their ancestors. They are frequently the soldiers of the soil*, and have a few begahs of land assigned for their support; but many are mere labourers, and when individuals of the families of the latter serve as soldiers, Hirkarrahs, or messengers, or in any other occupations, they usually return, when they have made a little money in such services, to their fields. This class of Rajpoots are not from dress, nor indeed in their habits, to be distinguished from the other peasantry; but they are all armed, and preserve, through the excitement of their bards and cherished recollections of their forefathers, a martial spirit, which is looked up to as the strength of the village they inhabit. Like the military Rajpoots, they indulge in the use of opium; but they are much more moderate. The women are neither veiled, nor confined to their houses, but aid their husbands in the labours of the field, as well as in the village work, and are in general hardy and industrious.

The Rajpoot inhabitants of towns, who pursue trade, or are employed as servants, differ nothing in their usages or character from the cultivators, except that they are in general, from the society in which they mix, more dissipated. There are, besides the cultivators and citizens, a con-

* Zumeen ka Nokur.

Brinjarries and Lodanahs.

siderable body of Brinjarries and Lodanahs, or grain-carriers*, who are of the Rajpoot caste: these are of various tribes, Rhattore, Jalore, Puar, &c. They live in tents, and can hardly be termed inhabitants of any particular province, as every place where they pitch is their home, and that of their families. They come and go to different countries, as their services are required to supply armies and to carry on commerce. Their number in any one province rises or falls like an article in trade, according to the demand; and they cannot, therefore, be taken into account as a part of its permanent population. The appearance and manners of both the men and women are formed by their condition; and they are an industrious but rude race, who live in a society of their own, and preserve, both in dress and usages, a marked separation and independence. They often engage in great speculations on their own account, and are deemed honest in their dealings, though very ignorant and barbarous. They trust much to the bankers and merchants with whom

* There is another description of grain-carriers, called Lubanah, settled in Bagur and Kantul; they live in villages, sometimes mingling with other cultivators, and sometimes having a village exclusively to themselves. They are Sudras, originally from Guzerat; and are a quiet and inoffensive race, differing widely from the Brinjarries, though engaged in the same trade. The Lubanahs are also cultivators, but follow no other occupations.

they are concerned, and few keep accounts; but habit has made them very acute, and their memory is, from continual exercise, extremely retentive of the minutest particulars of their extended transactions.

The principal among the illegitimate, or, as they are often termed, half-caste Rajpoots, in Central India, are the Sondies, who have spread from Sondwarra (a country to which they give the name) to many adjoining districts: a short history of them has been given. They are Hindus, and take pride in tracing their descent from Rajpoot heroes; but their habits have led them, on many points, to depart from the customs of their fathers, and, except refraining from the flesh of buffaloes and cows, they are little observant of the peculiar usages of Hindus. This tribe is divided into many classes or families, which take their names from Rajpoot ancestors; but all intermarry. Second marriages among their women are very common, and from the strict usages of the Rajpoots upon this point, there is none on which they deem the Sondies to have so degraded the race from which they are descended. Sondies.

The Sondies have been either cultivators or plunderers, according to the strength or weakness of the Government over them; but they have always had a tendency to predatory war, and have cherished its habits, even when obliged to subsist by agriculture. Their dress is nearly the

same as that of the other inhabitants, though they imitate in some degree the Rajpoots in the shape of their turbans. They are, in general, robust and active, but rude and ignorant to a degree. No race can be more despised and dreaded than the Sondies are by the other inhabitants of the country. They all drink strong liquors, and use opium to an excess; and emancipated by their base birth, and their being considered as outcasts, from the restraints which are imperative upon other branches of Hindu society, they give free scope to the full gratification of every sensual appetite; consequently vices are habitual to this class, which are looked upon by almost every other with horror and disgust. There is little union among the Sondies; and acts of violence and murder amongst themselves are events of common occurrence, even in what they deem peaceable times. Their usual quarrels are about land, and each party is prompt to appeal to arms for a decision. This race has not been known to be so quiet for a century as at present. When the Pindarry war was over, their excesses gave us an opportunity of seizing their strong holds, and compelling them to sell their horses, which has in a great degree deprived them of the ability to plunder; but still the presence of troops is essential to repress their turbulent disposition, and a long period of peace can alone give hopes of reforming a community of so restless and depraved

a character. The women of this tribe have caught the manners of their fathers and husbands, and are not only bold, but immoral. The lower ranks are never veiled, appear abroad at visits and ceremonies, and many of them are skilled in the management of the horse, while some have acquired fame in the defence of their villages, or in the field, by their courageous use of the sword and spear. Sondies Females.

At their marriages and feasts, the Sondies are aided by Brahmins; but that caste have little intercourse with them, except when wanted for the offices of religion. Among this rude race, Charuns are treated with more courtesy; but the Bhâts, who relate the fabulous tales of their descent, and the musicians, who sing their own deeds or those of their fathers, are the favourites on whom they bestow the highest largesses.

The next tribe is the Bheelalahs, who have sprung from Rajpoots of the Bheel tribe: they derive their name from associating with the Bheels, among whom, from the superior rank of their sires, they obtain respect and consequence. The chiefs of the Bheels in the Vindhya mountains are almost all Bheelalahs. This class combine, with the pride and pretensions of Rajpoots, the cunning and roguery of the Bheels; and appear to be, almost without exception, a debauched and ignorant race, often courageous from constant exposure to danger, but invariably marked by an Bheelalahs.

equal want of honour* and of shame. We never see in them any of those gleams of generous and chivalrous spirit, which now and then break forth to redeem the failings, and even the vices, of true Rajpoots. The vanity of this race has lately been flattered by their having risen into such power† and consideration, that neighbouring Rajpoot chiefs found it their interest to forget their prejudices, and to condescend so far as to eat‡ and drink with them.

There are many other bastard Rajpoot tribes

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* Many remarkable instances of this being their character came within my knowledge. The Bheelalah and Sondie chiefs were the only robbers in Malwa whom under no circumstances travellers could trust. There are oaths of a sacred but obscene kind among those that are Rajpoots, or who boast their blood, which are almost a disgrace to take, but which they assert the basest was never known to break before Mundroop Singh, a Bheelalah; and some of his associates, plunderers on the Nerbudda, shewed the example.

† In an agreement in my possession between the Bheelalah chief of Sillanah on the Nerbudda and a house of insurance at Indore, he styles himself Maha Raja Sree Mohun Singh, a title as high as that assumed by any prince in Central India.

‡ Huttee Singh, the Grassiah chief of Nowlanah, who is of the Kychee tribe of Rajpoots, and several others in the vicinity of Nadir, the late formidable Bheelalah chief of the Vindhya range, cultivated that robber's friendship and alliance; and among other sacrifices made by these Rajpoots, was eating and drinking with him. On seeing this take place in my camp, I asked Huttee Singh, whether he was not degraded by doing so; he said he was not, but that Nadir was elevated.

in Central India, whose names are found in the list of its peaceable inhabitants; but the lowest of these, who aspire to such a descent, consider themselves far above the Sudra, and it was deemed an honour for Mulhar Row Holkar to marry a female of the Sirwie* tribe, who are

* In a history given to me of the origin of the Sirwies, they are stated to be the descendants of twenty-four Rajpoots, who alone survived their Prince Anund Row, Raja of Kalopoor, when the fortress of that name was taken by stratagem, about six hundred years ago. These Rajpoots were so ashamed at having survived their prince, that they threw aside their swords and shields, and dropped the name of Rajpoot for ever, taking in its stead that of Sirwie, a derivative of the Rangree word Sir, "cultivation," thereby intimating they would thenceforward devote themselves to the cultivation of the soil; and to this day the Sirwies are famed as the best cultivators in Central India. Their skill in ascertaining where to dig wells, so as to come speedily to water, is as extraordinary as it is well attested.

A man of this tribe, celebrated for his knowledge in this particular, was lately brought from Nolye to Indore: he pointed out the place for a well in Tantia Jogh's garden, and gave a minute description of the soil and strata of rock that would be met before this well was formed. This was written, and an estimate of the work made at the same time. Mr. Wellesley, on seeing these papers and the verification of the man's prediction as to soil, &c. employed him to sink a well in his grounds. A paper was given describing the rock and soil, &c. At the period this note was written the well had been sunk twenty-five feet, and so far his predictions had proved correct. He did not expect water before fifty feet. The result was watched with some anxiety, and the progress of the workmen

only half-castes; but the family of the bride has charge of the image of an incarnation of Bhavani, which elevates them. This marriage took place in consequence of an engagement formed by the first Mulhar Row Holkar; but his descendant, being a Sudra of the shepherd tribe, could not be allowed to marry a female of Khetri blood, without a ceremony which marked the difference. The sword of the Mahratta ruler, with his handkerchief bound round it, represented the Prince, and to that the female was united: she married the wearer of the sword, not the shepherd.

Not only many of the Rajpoot petty chiefs, but the lowest head of a band of robbers, who claim kindred with that tribe, have a usage of affixing a rude drawing of the shaft of a spear, or of a dagger, to all their letters or orders to inferiors; which is engraved upon the charitable grants styled *Tamba Potta*, from their being written on plates of copper. This emblem denotes that the power of the party, by whom the deed is granted, rests on his sword.

It would be endless to trace the numerous ramifications of the Rajpoots, or of such tribes as have arisen out of the mixture of caste in this province; but it is curious to remark, that, among these, the race who are the descendants of Brah-

minutely noted; for, though the man had a great deal of superstition and mummery connected with his profession, it was quite evident that he had considerable knowledge.

min fathers and Rajpoot mothers take no pride in their female descent, but, following the dress and usages of the former, employ themselves in civil occupations, such as those of merchants, writers, and retail dealers. They are very numerous in Central India, particularly in Oojein, are without pride, and are remarkable for the loose habits of their females.

Mercantile Classes.

Almost the whole of the Soucars and Shroffs (bankers and money-brokers), and a great proportion of Bunnias (or retail dealers), in Central India, are either from Guzerat or Marwar, and generally not very old settlers. The principal bankers at Oojein, of Guzerat origin, came there about three centuries ago, and those of Marwar at a later date: the chief firm in Shujahalpoor has been settled more than three hundred years, whilst the oldest houses in Indore have not been above one hundred. Only two families are found who trace beyond the establishment of the Mahratta rule at the latter city, or rather village; for such it was when they first came to it. There are records of very wealthy men of this tribe having been in this country during the prosperous period of the kings of Mandoo. The tradition, indeed, of some princely bankers is still preserved, who lived in palaces at that capital*; but these were of Guzerat origin.

* The names of the Soucars of Mandoo, Guddasa and Bysa, who lived in the period between the reign of Raja Bhoj

Soucars and Shroffs of the Vishnu and Jain sects.

The Soucars, Shroffs, and Bunnias in Malwa, are either of the Jain or Vishnu faith, but by far the greater numbers are of the former*, and their prevailing influence and wealth attract many converts. Almost all the Vaisya and Sudra agents and servants they employ, if not before Jains, conform to the tenets of that sect. This renders the Jain tribe (always hateful to Brahmins) detested by the priesthood of that order in Central India; nor can all the favour of Hindu princes protect them from their hostility. Six years ago, the Jains built a handsome temple at Oojein; a Jati, or priest of high character, arrived from Guzerat to consecrate it, and to place within the shrine the image of their favourite deity†; but on the morning of the day fixed for this purpose, after the ceremony had commenced and the Jains had filled the temple, expecting the arrival of their idol, a Brahmin appeared conveying an oval stone from the river Sepra, which he proclaimed as

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and the Khiljee kings, are preserved in the traditions of the mercantile class in Central India. Their wealth is said to have been very great.

* In Pertaubghur there are fifteen hundred families of the Jain faith, and one hundred and fifty of the Vishnu faith. In Banswarra, the latter are more numerous, they are about four hundred, and the former, about one hundred and twenty-five. In Doongurpoor, there are about two hundred and fifty Jains and fifty Vishnus. In Saugwarra there are three hundred Jains and fifty Vishnus.

† Parswanath.

the emblem of Mahadeva; he was joined by a concourse of other Brahmins and Gosseins, who, arming themselves with bludgeons and missiles, soon drove the unarmed bankers and shopkeepers from their temple. The rude symbol of Mahadeva was placed in the niche prepared for the Jain god, amid the shouts of Brahmins and other Hindus, and proclaimed as *the overthrower of Jains, the all-powerful Mahadeva.* The discomfited party appealed to the governor of the city; but the other tribes were too powerful, and dared his interference in a point of this nature. The authority of Dowlet Row Sindia, to whom reference was made, was treated with no greater respect; and the fear of seeing Oojein deserted, with the prospect of distress at that city and Gualior, (for in both the Jains stopped all business and shut their shops,) led that prince to use every means to obtain redress for the violent outrage and insult they had suffered. But his threats and applications were alike derided, and, fearing to proceed to extremities in a case of religion, he was obliged to rest satisfied with making what amends he could, by remunerating in part the expense which the Jains had incurred; and the latter, alike powerless from their comparative smallness of numbers and peaceable habits, were obliged to content themselves with this imperfect reparation, and to bear the additional mortification of seeing the temple they had erected become (chiefly from the

manner in which it had been won) the most popular place of worship in all Oojein.

The Jain and Vishnu sects, though they practise different rites and are of different persuasions*, being alike of the Vaisya caste, or mercantile Hindus, intermarry. Both of them have numerous subdivisions, the principal of which is that of Bissah and Dussah, or the legitimate and illegitimate, between whom there is always an amicable intercourse; but though they eat together, their descendants do not intermarry. The amount of the population of this class will be hereafter noticed; the numbers from Marwar are greater than from Guzerat, but this is only since the Mahrattas governed Central India. Their connexion with the state of Joudpoor has brought crowds of its active and industrious inhabitants into Malwa and adjoining provinces; but the majority of these new settlers keep up their communication with their own country: many of them, indeed, return to pass the remainder of their days in their native land, selling their shares in concerns, which go down to a partnership in the smallest shops, to their younger countrymen,

* It is a distinction of sect, not of caste or family; it is in the latter that no distinctions exist, as to eating together and intermarrying. It frequently happens, that some Bunnias of the same family or tribe are of the Vishnu, and others of the Jain sect; but this difference of persuasion does not cause a cessation of intercourse, or intermarriages.

who come annually from Marwar to make their fortunes in Central India and the Deckan.

Habits and Character of Soucars and Bunnias.

The mercantile classes of Central India, influenced by the scenes amid which they have lived for the last thirty years, have certainly looser habits than is usual with the tribes to which they belong; but they are active, intelligent, and industrious, and have in general the reputation of fair dealing. They are (particularly the Jains) very abstemious, refraining in their diet from eating any thing that has had life: they drink no strong liquor, but many of them use opium, though seldom to excess. The women are veiled, and much secluded after they are married, or rather affianced, which takes place very early in life; but till then the female children go abroad like the male, and the principal Soucars appear as proud of bringing their little daughters into company as their sons. The Jains are very strict in their observance of fasts, which are longer, and more severe, than those of any other tribe of Hindus. This class of useful men were much cherished by the Emperors of Delhi, and above all by the wise and tolerant Akber. Those that were settled in Central India during his reign appear to have enjoyed a full measure of his protection and favour; and they have still in their possession his royal mandate*, directing that, in

* An application was made to me to prevent the slaying of animals during the Putchoossur, or twelve days which they

deference to them, no animal was to be slain in this province during the Putchoossur, or twelve days' fast. The Soucars have by presents ob-

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hold sacred; and the original Firman of Akber (carefully kept by their high priest at Oojein) was sent for my perusal. The following is a literal translation of this curious document.

" IN THE NAME OF GOD. GOD IS GREAT.

" Firman of the Emperor Julalo-deen Mahomed Akber, Shah, Padsha, Gazi.

" Be it known to the Muttasuddies of Malwa, that as the whole of our desires consist in the performance of good actions, and our virtuous intentions are constantly directed to one object, that of delighting and gaining the hearts of our subjects, &c.:

" We, on hearing mention made of persons of any religion or faith whatever who pass their lives in sanctity, employ their time in spiritual devotion, and are alone intent on the contemplation of the Deity, shut our eyes on the external forms of their worship, and considering only the intention of their hearts, we feel a powerful inclination to admit them to our association, from a wish to do what may be acceptable to the Deity. On this account, having heard of the extraordinary holiness and of the severe penances performed by Hirbujisoor and his disciples, who reside in Guzerat, and are lately come from thence, we have ordered them to the presence, and they have been ennobled by having permission to kiss the abode of honour.

" After having received their dismissal and leave to proceed to their own country, they made the following request:—That if the King, protector of the poor, would issue orders that during the twelve days of the month Bhodon, called Putchoossur (which are held by the Jains to be particularly holy,) no cattle should be slaughtered in the cities where their tribe reside, they would thereby be exalted in the eyes of the world,

tained annual orders to the same effect from Mahratta and other rulers; but these have been but imperfectly observed.

When the Mahomedans invaded Hindustan, and conquered its Rajpoot Princes, we may conclude that the Brahmins of that country, who possessed knowledge or distinction, fled from their intolerance and violence; but the conquerors found in the sect of Khayastha, or, as they are generally termed, the Kait tribe, more pliable and better instruments for the conduct of the details of their new government. This tribe had few religious scruples, as they stand low on the scale of Hindus. They were according to their own records, which there is no reason to question, qualified by their previous employment in all affairs of state, and to render themselves completely useful had only to add the language of their new masters to those with which they were

Khayastha or Kait Tribe.

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the lives of a number of living animals would be spared, and the actions of his Majesty would be acceptable to God; and as the persons who made this request came from a distance, and their wishes were not at variance with the ordinances of our religion, but on the contrary were similar in effect with those good works prescribed by the venerable and holy Musulman, we consented, and gave orders that, during those twelve days called Putchoossur, no animal should be slaughtered.

"The present Sunnud is to endure for ever, and all are enjoined to obey it, and use their endeavours that no one is molested in the performance of his religious ceremonies. Dated 7th Jumad-ul Sani, 992 Hejira."

already acquainted. The Mahomedans carried those Hindus into their Southern conquests, and they spread over the countries of Central India and the Deckan; and some families of the latter, who are Canoongoes of districts and Putwarries of villages, (the two revenue departments for which their education qualified them,) trace their settlement in this country from the earliest Mahomedan conquest. Many of them are of a more recent date; and a marked distinction subsists between the Malwa Kaits (as the older settlers are denominated) and the new comers. They eat together, but do not intermarry, and have little communication with each other. This tribe has been much employed by the Rajpoot chiefs, with whom, as well as with the Mahomedans, some individuals have risen to high stations.

The Kaits assert that their origin is coeval with the invention of letters; that they were created to be an intellectual, not a labouring class; and they in consequence deem themselves devoted to learning. They are almost all taught to read and write Persian; and in Central India they learn the Rangree or Hindui dialect, in which business is commonly transacted. They have few prejudices, and no pride of caste; the qualifications which they derive from their education and industrious habits, are always in the market. In all offices which require a knowledge of writing and accounts, such as secretaries and clerks

in the army, and in the country, down to the lowest village registers*, men of this class are to be found. In the country of Kotah alone, they reckon three thousand families of this useful and intelligent tribe. They are not remarkable for the strictness of their moral character; indeed it is their flexibility and submissive compliance with the wishes of their Mahomedan and Rajpoot masters, which chiefly recommend them to the offices they fill with these ignorant races, whose pride is never so gratified as when it can at once use and contemn those who are possessed of superior information and knowledge. The number of Kaits in Central India will be hereafter noticed; but it is alike remarkable that no man of this tribe is without education, and that they are never to be seen in a state of mendicity or even menial employ. There is among them a caste, or kindred obligation, which leads to their support of each other; and when they are not inheritors of Native rights or lands, they are ready to proceed to any country, and to take any employment that suits their profession as writers or accountants. In a country where so large a proportion (and particularly the military part) are

* The Dewa Poojah, or worship of the implements of writing, as the source of their subsistence, is observed by all Kaits at the Dewallee and Hooly festivals; and at the principal Kutcherries of districts the expenditure for the public celebration of this worship is defrayed by the Circar.

uninstructed, it is not surprising that such a race, however numerous, should never want occupation, and be preserved from, what to them would be a degradation, the necessity of that personal labour to which the first of the sects of Hindus (including Brahmins) are often reduced. The Kaits do not even serve each other in menial capacities, conceiving, to use an expression by which they describe their feeling on this point, that it would be a sin to use in mean offices hands which God has expressly made for the noble purpose of writing.

Priests, Religious Sects, and Mendicants.

There are in Central India, as in other parts of India, a number of religious Hindus, who sometimes settle in towns and villages, but more generally go from one district to another, as they see a prospect of support from charity or employment. The most numerous of this class, who follow the occupation of mendicants, are Byragies; who seldom fix, unless they have a pension or a grant of land, which many of them possess. The Gosseins (a well-known sect) are very different: they are always armed, and in bodies under leaders, and often enforce that charity which others solicit; they are however ready to take service as soldiers, and have the reputation of being brave and faithful. They also trade, and employ themselves in cultivation. They generally come from Western Hindustan, but numbers have been settled in Central India for several

generations, and instances occur of men of this religious sect attaining high stations*.

In the towns of Central India, besides the castes which have been noticed, there are all the Sudra tribes† which are common to the other regions of India. These are distinguished, as elsewhere, according to the art, trade, or occupation which those that belong to them pursue: each has his different denomination, from the cowherd, the shepherd, the goldsmith, musician, oilman, gardener, weaver, and the confectioner, down to the lowest classes of labourers, distillers, rope-makers, dancers, and sweepers. Sudras.

In the villages there are similar classes of tradesmen and artisans; and, besides the Mahomedan, the Brahmin, and the Rajpoot cultivators, there are a variety of Sudras, whose sole occupation is to till the ground. The most respectable of this class are the Koombee and the

* Mous Gheer, the manager of the petty principality of Burwanee, is a Gossein. Many of this tribe have had parties in Central India of two and three thousand men of their own sect, chiefly foot soldiers; and some merchants of this class at Oojein are very wealthy.

† It is a curious fact that in Central India many of the Sudra tribe have taken advantage of the confusion and dispersion of families to elevate themselves to the rank of Khetries or descendants of that tribe, by assuming the name of Singh, which, as a distinctive appellation, is but recent with the Rajpoots, and has, since they adopted it, been taken by the whole of the Sikh followers of Gooroo Govind.

Jaut: the latter and the Goojur are the most numerous, and it is to be noticed that both are decidedly from Hindustan Proper. None of the Sudra families will eat or intermarry with the other. Here, as in other parts of India, they follow the usages and profession of their fathers. Every one, even the barber, washerman, and sweeper, has his Bhât or bard, who preserves his genealogy, and gratifies his vanity with the tales of his ancestors. This bard is continually employed among the caste to which he belongs; his arrival at a village is hailed as a day of festivity, and with the lower classes he settles all matters relating to their intermarriages.

The Sudra inhabitants of the towns differ in no material degree from those of other parts of India; they are, generally speaking, a quiet and industrious race. Those of the villages are the same, and, considering the scenes in which they have lived, the little change that has taken place in their morals is quite remarkable. On minute inquiry into the history of this community for the last thirty years, we find that they have almost all become, from necessity, freebooters and robbers. They do not deny it: their rulers, they state, plundered, they plundered, and all plundered; there was, in fact, no other profession. These men have, however, returned cheerfully to the restraints and habits to which they were born; and if they themselves are to be believed, they

are wearied of past troubles, and are come back with joy to the peaceful occupations which they were for a time compelled to abandon.

The Sudra inhabitants of Central India are, from their present poverty, not exposed to much temptation; and few large communities have less vice or crime. They may be said, in their intercourse with strangers and with officers of government, to evade the truth, and often to assert positive falsehoods; but this results from the caution and fear of men accustomed to suffer from violence and oppression. In their intercourse with each other, falsehood is not common, and many (particularly some of the cultivators) are distinguished by their adherence to truth. Art, or rather low cunning, the vice of the timid, is common to this class. Adultery is the crime which seems to have increased most, from the shock society has sustained: this is to be attributed to that violence to which their females have been exposed from a lawless soldiery, and their ceasing, in consequence, to value a virtue which could not be preserved. A desire in their princes to increase revenue has laid heavy fines* upon incontinence; which is said to have had the effect of disturbing the harmony of the inhabitants

* Fines for adultery are levied on the families of both the offending parties, and generally extend to the forfeiture of the greater portion of their property.

in a very great degree, as every informant, true or false, was attended to, and an opportunity was thus given for the gratification of the worst passions of the human mind—envy, malice, and revenge. It has been before stated*, that when new settlers came from Pitlawud to Rutlam, the principal condition in their articles of agreement was, that the jurisdiction of the women was to be in their own hands, and that the latter were not to be subject to fines for adultery: this condition is stated by the respectable men of the tribe to have proceeded from no want of confidence in the virtue of their wives and daughters, but from the contemplation of the bad effects of the interference of the Government with their family concerns.

Cultivators of Central India.

The cultivators in Central India are deemed good husbandmen, and their fields, particularly those that are irrigated, bear testimony to their skill: they are, from the scenes in which they have lived, inured to hardships, and many of them have a high character for courage in defence of their cattle, fields, and villages. They are at present almost all possessed of arms: this was not formerly the case, but has been the result of the late disturbed condition of the country. Serious affrays, which are common to the Rajpoots, and which, if the individuals who quarrel are men of

* Vide vol. i. p. 565.

note, seldom end without involving villages and tribes, are very rare among the Sudra cultivators. The latter, who are a temperate, cheerful, and peaceable race, live in tolerable harmony with each other: their principal disputes are about lands; but, when engaged in them, whether they relate to the boundaries of a village or the claims of individuals, all parties shew a violence quite foreign to their wonted mildness and apathy. Interest, honour, pride, and every passion of their breast is roused, and their feelings become so excited, that the certainty of that distress, in which protracted quarrels on such points almost always involve both parties, does not deter them from pursuing their object: they appear satisfied with ruin, if they can bring equal destruction on their opponent.

There is no class among the inhabitants of Central India whose character has been more deteriorated than the Zemindars and Potails of the towns and villages: many of these, who were too weak to resist openly the violence from which they so severely suffered, had recourse to the most criminal means of retaliation. Thieves were not only protected by them, but they encouraged the settlement, under their authority, of men belonging to tribes to whom theft and robbery are occupations from father to son, and who, in fact, live upon the produce of the petty warfare which they have from time immemorial carried

on against the community. Almost every large village which retained its inhabitants subsequent to the ravages of Jeswunt Row Holkar and the Pindarries, had a band of this description either living in it or in communication with the Potail; and the latter received, for the countenance and support he gave them, a fixed share of the booty. Some heads of villages personally engaged in these scenes, but they generally limited themselves to the giving concealment to the crimes of those whom they made the instruments of attack or retaliation upon others.

Mewatties. The Mewatties, a well-known Mahomedan * tribe in Hindustan, have long resorted to Central India. They were entertained as Sebundies, or militia, by the renters and managers of the country, and were deemed faithful to those they served; but great numbers of them who settled in the villages became professed depredators: they were, however, generally in bodies, which Rajpoot lords and wealthy landholders could alone afford to maintain. But what entitles them to pre-eminence in this list is the lead which their chiefs almost invariably took in all robberies upon a

* Although usually reckoned Mahomedans, it is difficult to say whether they are Mahomedans or Hindus: they partake of both religions, and are the most desperate rogues in India. Though they are stigmatized as robbers and assassins, they are at the same time admitted to be faithful and courageous guards and servants to those in whose service they engage.

large scale, and their connivance and support of other classes*.

Many of the Rajas and chiefs, particularly those West of the Chumbul, entertained numerous bands of foreign troops to defend them against the Mahrattas and Pindarries; but they were unable to control these bodies of violent and unprincipled mercenaries †, whose leaders changed from one service to another, as their interest dictated; and wherever they went, though always acting in the name of some local ruler, they were justly dreaded (particularly the Arabs) by the inhabitants as the most lawless and profligate of all their oppressors. No act ‡ has rendered the British power more popular than the complete expulsion of these trained robbers, none of whom re- Patans, Arabs, &c.

* They were in fact, in general, both the police soldiers and principal robbers; and the wealth and influence many of this tribe acquired enabled them often to escape detection, and almost always to evade punishment.

† These mercenaries, who were chiefly from Arabia, Scind, and Mekran, came annually to Central India for service. That country was also the resort of a number of Patans from Western Hindustan.

‡ In the end of A.D. 1818 I marched suddenly into the countries West of the Chumbul, and, by sending detachments to different points, so surprised and overawed the numerous bands of these mercenaries, who amounted altogether to more than six thousand men, that they found themselves unable to unite or to offer any opposition. They were consequently compelled to accept a moderate settlement of their arrears, and abandon the country.

main. The character of all of them was nearly the same; their chief features were that insolence and ferocity, which a sense of a stronger frame of body and mind inspires in men, who, like them, were mere soldiers of fortune, with no knowledge whatever beyond that of the profession of arms by which they were supported, and whose leading principle of action was a contempt of the Native population of the country in which they were employed.

Pindarries. A chapter has been given to describe the Pindarries. Some individual chiefs, pensioners of the British government, and a few poor inhabitants of villages in Bhopal and Nemaur, are all who now own the name of this late formidable community. In an attempt to ascertain the number of those in other parts of Central India, success was found impossible, from their having completely amalgamated with the lowest of the labouring classes in society, whence many had originally sprung. Between five and six hundred have been at times employed at the cantonment of Mhow, where a little colony of them settled as sellers of toddy; a number occupied themselves in making thatched roofs, and others in bringing materials for building. At and near Indore there are several thousands, and a number have been encouraged and aided by the minister Tantia Jogh to obtain a livelihood as grain-carriers: they have every where acquaintances, if not old

associates; for the whole of Central India, from the highest to the lowest, fell into the vortex of this system, and the profits of the remote expeditions of these freebooters were a common matter of speculation and share with the principal bankers, renters, and Government officers* of the country. The Pindarries (as before stated) were of all classes†, and preserved the common usages of their tribe; but those born in the Durrahs, or camps, appear to have been ignorant in a degree almost beyond belief, and were in the same ratio superstitious. The women of almost all the Mahomedan Pindarries dressed like Hindus, and worshipped Hindu deities‡. From accompanying their husbands in most of their excursions, they became hardy and masculine: they were usually

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* Rowjee Trimbuck, in a conversation with Mr. Wellesley upon this subject, asserted that he had known the payment of large debts to Government dependent on the success of an expedition of the Pindarries.

† Almost all the Hindus were Ladul, a low class, whose usual occupation is to bring grass and fire-wood to camps.

‡ The Deva, or divinity, usually worshipped by the Pindarry women, (Mahomedan as well as Hindu) is Devi, under her different forms or manifestations. Ramassah Peer, called also Deva Dharma Raja, and Goga Peer, or as the Mahomedans call him Zair Peer, are holy men, who were much invoked by the Pindarry women, when their husbands proceeded on their plundering expeditions. The former was a great warrior, who was killed at Ranujah, near Pooshkur, in battle. Saturday is the day fixed for Poojah, or prayer, to him; upon which occa-

mounted on small horses or camels, and were more dreaded by the villagers than the men, whom they exceeded in cruelty and rapacity.

The return of the Pindarries from an expedition presented at one view their character and habits. When they recrossed the Nerbudda and reached their homes, their camp became like a fair. After the claims of the chief (whose right was a fourth part of the booty, but who generally compounded for one or two valuable articles) had been satisfied, the usual share paid to their Lubhuree, or chosen leader for the expedition, and all debts to merchants and others who had made advances discharged—the plunder of each man was exposed for sale; traders from every part came to make cheap bargains; and while the women were busy in disposing of their husbands' property, the men, who were on such occasions certain of visits from all their friends, were engaged in hearing music, seeing dancers and drolls, and in drinking. This life of debauchery and excess lasted till all their money was gone; they were then compelled to look for new scenes of rapine, or, if the season was unfavourable, were supported by their chiefs, or by loans, at high interest, from merchants who lived in their camps,

sions small images of horses, in clay or stone, are offered at the shrine of the saint. The figure of a man on horseback, stamped on gold or silver, (representing Ramassah Peer) was worn suspended from the necks of many of the Pindarries.

many of whom amassed large fortunes. This worst part of the late population of Central India is, as a separate community, now extinct.

The history of the Bheels has been fully given, and that necessarily included much of their habits and character. Those that live in villages are reputed faithful and honest: they are usually the watchmen, and have a portion of land or dues assigned them. These village Bheels have little intercourse with their more numerous and independent brethren, who dwell among the hills. The cultivating classes of Bheels, who live in districts and hamlets under their Turwees or heads, though industrious, have neither given up the habits nor arms of the tribes in a ruder state, and, like them, indulge in strong liquors to excess. They excite the horror of the higher classes of Hindus, by eating not only the flesh of buffaloes, but of cows. From this abomination, for such it is considered, they only rank above the Chumars, or shoemakers, who feast on dead carcases, and are in Central India, as elsewhere, deemed so unclean that they are not allowed to dwell within the precincts of the village. Bheels.

The plundering or wild Bheels, who reside among the hills, are a diminutive and wretched-looking race, whose appearance shews the poverty of their food; but they are nevertheless active and capable of great fatigue. They are professed robbers and thieves, armed with bows and arrows:

they lie in wait for the weak and unprotected, while they fly from the strong. Ignorant and superstitious to a degree, they are devoted to their Turwees, whose command is a law which they implicitly obey. The men, and still more the women, have their intellect formed by their condition; they are quick, have a kind of instinctive sense of danger, and are full of art and evasion. To kill another when their Turwee desires, or to suffer death themselves, appear to them equally a matter of indifference. The whole race are illiterate, and they are, without exception, fond of tobacco and liquor to excess. Their quarrels begin and end in drunken bouts; no feud can be stanched, no crime forgiven, but at a general feast; and here the common and popular fine for every offence is more liquor to protract their riotous enjoyment, which sometimes continues for days. The Bheel women have much influence in the society; but it is a curious fact, that their manners and disposition are in general quite opposite to what has been stated as those of the females of the Pindarries. They never accompany the men in their expeditions, and when prisoners are taken, their principal hope of life is in the known humanity of the women. The latter are usually the first sufferers from the crimes of their fathers and husbands, the women and children (when the men are suspected) being always seized when Government can lay hold of them. They

shew in such circumstances great patience and fortitude, as they well know the men will never abandon them, and that the guilty will surrender themselves to any punishment, even death, rather than allow them and their children to continue in confinement. In the recent reform of a great proportion of the Bheels of Central India, the women have acted a very prominent part, and one worthy of the character of their sex. They have invariably been the advocates of the cause of good order; but the fact is, that they have been accustomed to industry and labour, and must be happy to see their partners, who have hitherto passed their time between crime and debauchery, compelled to more regular courses. The Bheels, though in distinct classes, are still one people. They all eat the same diet; they intermarry; and they unite in the mode as well as the substance of their worship. The latter, in essentials, is similar to other Hindus; but the forms are different. The religious ceremonies of this rude race are much limited to propitiatory offerings and sacrifices to some of the Hindu minor infernal deities, but particularly the Goddess of the "Small Pox," whom they invoke under various names, in the hope of averting the dreadful ravages this disorder at times makes among them. They also pay great reverence to Mahadeva, from whom, as has been stated, they boast descent.

Baugries and Moghies.

Among the tribes settled in Central India, who are professed robbers and thieves, the two principal are the Baugries and Moghies, both Hindus of the lowest caste. They came originally from the Western parts of India, chiefly from the neighbourhood of Chittore. The Moghies can hardly be said to have passed the Chumbul, but the Baugries have settled in the Eastern parts of Malwa in considerable numbers: and sixteen years ago the Solunkee Rajpoots introduced no less than four hundred of them to garrison the small fort of Sattanbaree in Bersiah, in which district and others in its vicinity there had been for a long period many settlers of this tribe. The Baugries are a very brave race of men, and though they till the soil and pursue occupations of industry from necessity, their favourite pursuits are thieving and plundering. In these arts they are at once expert and bold: a few individuals of this class are as ready to combine in undermining the house, and stealing by night the property of a rich individual, as a larger gang are prompt to attack openly a party of travellers, or a village. They are also mercenary soldiers, ready to serve any one, and to engage in any cause for pay. Like other classes of Hindus, they have peculiar and distinct usages, which refer to their origin and condition. These men, habituated as they are to crime, are not without principle, and are deemed, more than most Hindus,

true to their salt; which means, in common acceptation, to those who give them food: but the Baugries adopt it in its literal sense; and they avoid, as much as they can, tasting salt from the hands of any one but their own brethren, dreading, no doubt, the inconvenience which would result from the frequency of an act that forced them to abstain from plunder.

The Baugries are foot-soldiers; their Jemadars or leaders, whom they obey implicitly, are usually mounted; whenever they settle, they remain in colonies, and even when three or four families fix in a small village, they live distinct from the other inhabitants. This tribe, though scattered, preserves a correspondence, which makes them formidable enemies to the internal peace of any country in which they are numerous. The condition of Central India has been for many years past very favourable to them: besides being robbers under their own leaders, they have been the soldiers of Rajpoot princes and predatory chiefs, and the hired or protected thieves of managers of countries or Potails of villages, who possessed, through the employment of such classes, the power of inflicting injury or retaliation, and often that of increasing their receipts; for they had in all cases a considerable share of the goods stolen or robbed by the Baugries within the limits of their district or village. What added to the reputation of this class with those who

employed or protected them, was the character they have established for secrecy, when taken or convicted of crime: they seldom informed upon accomplices, and as they very rarely added murder to theft or robbery, capital punishments were not often executed on them; heavy fines were usually imposed, and security for future good conduct exacted. The amount paid by the poorest Baugrie shewed the support and connexion which existed in this tribe; but that was more frequently evinced by their escape from prison, which often occurred under very extraordinary circumstances.

The Baugries drink strong liquors, but are not so dissipated as the Bheels, and are from that cause, and from inhabiting the plains, and having abundance of food, (they eat all flesh, even to the cow,) a stouter and more robust race. Their women are also strong and industrious, but appear as rude and violent as their husbands. The numbers of this tribe within the districts that are under the direct management of the British government, have given the fullest opportunity of appreciating their character; and great progress has been made in endeavours to change their inveterate habits, and to render them useful subjects.

The Moghies* are chiefly settled in the Eastern

* There are not more than twelve hundred in the countries of Bagur and Kantul, and their immediate vicinity: their chief leader is Hernat.

parts of the Odeypoor country, and the countries of Doongurpoor, Banswarra, and Pertaubghur. They are originally from Joudpoor, whence they were expelled about sixty years ago by Raja Bajee Singh. Though a distinct class, they resemble the Baugries: the latter are reputed to be more brave and faithful to the service in which they engage; but there is neither in their condition in society, nor their character, any very material difference.

Meenahs and Goojurs.

The Meenahs and Goojurs of Hindustan who have settled in Central India (though the greater proportion of them are cultivators) have not forgotten the habits of their ancestors; and many of these classes have distinguished themselves as expert and successful thieves and robbers. The same may be said of the Gonds who inhabit its Southern frontier; who, though they till the land and have a high reputation as skilful husbandmen, are prone to plunder.

There are, besides these distinct classes of plunderers and thieves which have been enumerated, some very remarkable associations of men of all tribes in this country, whose object is to live upon the community. That called Gwarriah is one of the most extraordinary, and chiefly infests the towns and villages West of the Chumbul. They support themselves by stealing women and children, whom they sell. They seldom have resort to violence, but practise every species of deceit that can im-

Gwarriahs.

pose upon youth and weakness. They are quite well known as kidnappers, and reside openly as such under the protection of Rajpoot chiefs, managers of districts, and others, who benefit by their crimes. When they have been absent from their homes for some time, their return is anxiously looked for by those who are desirous of obtaining female slaves. After the principal person of the place in which they live has had his choice, the remainder are sold to the best bidders. This shocking species of traffic belonged peculiarly to the troubled period of Central India; but at the worst of times the petty ruler under whom the Gwarriah lived, used, when he was discovered, to restore the stolen wife or daughter of an individual who had found them, and to punish the offender with a mock imprisonment. This abominable practice has already greatly diminished, and will soon be altogether abolished. Many of the Gwarriahs have lately been seized and punished; and every measure has been taken to break up this infamous community in the districts over which the British influence extends*.

Thugs. Independent of the thieves and robbers who

* A great number of cases, and some of a very extraordinary nature, were brought before me, and I was not only successful in obtaining redress from the native princes and chiefs in whose territories the crimes were committed, but I found almost all disposed to a cordial co-operation for putting an end to this abominable practice.

dwell in Central India, there have been, for many years past, annual incursions of vagrants from other countries. Amongst the most numerous of these bands are a tribe of Brahmins, from Bundelcund, who take the name of the sect of Canoje: they are at once mendicants, pilfering thieves, robbers, and murderers. A number of them are usually found in that singular association called Thugs, who are well known in Hindustan, and have of late years become very formidable in Malwa and adjoining provinces, with many of the petty chiefs of which this extraordinary society was during its late troubles intimately connected. A description of these robbers and their usual proceedings, while it shews their character, will suffice as an example of the bands by which the provinces of India, in the condition this country has lately been, are liable to be infested, or rather invaded.

The Thugs* are composed of all castes; Mahomedans even were admitted: but the great majority are Hindus; and among these the Brahmins, chiefly of the Bundelcund tribes, are in the greatest numbers, and generally direct the operations of the different bands. Their principal residence is on the banks of the Chumbul and Kuwary, North-

* The Phansigars of Southern India are described with the same habits as the Thugs; and similar associations of plunderers and murderers must be produced in every community in a distracted and unsettled state.

east of Gualior, where they have villages, and usually maintain a connexion, or at least an understanding, with the manager of the district. Their expeditions, which extend as far as Nagpoor and the Deckan, have of late years been very frequent in Central India; and more than three hundred of them were in that country in A.D. 1819. They have fixed rules, particularly as to the division of booty. Auxiliaries to their enterprises are sought for in all ranks, but the most abandoned of the officers of government of the countries to which they proceed are those they chiefly desire; and after having ascertained, by letter or verbal report, that circumstances are favourable, they usually send as precursors, for the purpose of minute local information, spies disguised as religious mendicants, as tradesmen, or as soldiers looking for service, who connect themselves with the loose characters of the country, and all is prepared for the principal party, which often consists of three or four hundred; but these are never seen together, though the different bands travel in perfect communication with each other. Some of them have horses, camels, and tents, and are equipped like merchants; others are dressed like soldiers going under a leader to take service; some affect to be Mahomedan beggars and Hindu Byragies, or holy mendicants: they assume, in short, every disguise. Parties of the boldest and most active are always detached from the main

band: these sometimes seek protection from travellers; at others, afford it: in either case, the fate of those who join them is the same. The Thugs have, concealed, a long silken cord with a noose, which they throw round the necks of their heedless companions, who are strangled and plundered. Their victims, who are always selected for having property, are, when numerous or at all on their guard, lulled by every art into confidence. They are invited to feasts, where their victuals and drink are mixed with soporific or poisonous drugs, through the effects of which they fall an easy prey to these murderers and robbers, the extraordinary success of whose atrocities can only be accounted for by the condition of the countries in which they take place. They attained great strength in Central India, and many gangs of this class passed annually through the country, on their way to the dominions of the Nizam and Paishwah. It is not six years ago since the manager* of Mundissor surrounded a body of Thugs, who professed themselves, and appeared to be, a party of horse and foot soldiers that were escorting their baggage on camels and bullocks from the Deckan. He had, however, gained information who they were, and commanded them to submit: they refused, and an action took place, in which the Thugs were

* Appah Gungadhur.

routed, some of them killed, and others made prisoners. The whole of their booty was captured, amounting in value to more than a lac of rupees, and comprising every variety of personal clothes and ornaments, rich and poor, for they plunder all classes indiscriminately. Among other articles, a great number of their strangling-cords were taken and exhibited.

Institutions, Festivals, Religious and Superstitious Beliefs, Usages, &c.

There are many institutions, festivals, religious and superstitious beliefs, and usages, in Central India, which may be described as belonging equally to all its Hindu population, and indeed to the greatest proportion of the Mahomedan. Though there is not one public place of instruction endowed or supported by any State in this country, yet private schools, both in the towns and villages, are very numerous. In Bhopal, Persian is taught very generally; and, as the correspondence as well as the revenue accounts of the principality are kept in that language, persons desiring employment in its fiscal administration are obliged to acquire a knowledge of it. At Oojein, Mundissor, Sarungpoor, and other towns, a knowledge of reading and writing in the Persian character is imparted to a few Mahomedan and Kait scholars; but this goes no farther than to qualify them to write letters, and transact current business. Nothing, indeed, can be more limited than the learning they acquire; and the Persian Moonshees (whether Mahomedan or Hin-

du) employed by the Princes and principal chiefs in Central India, have almost without exception been educated in Hindustan.

The Sanscrit is taught at Oojein by several who profess to be Shastries, or learned priests, each of whom has a few Brahmin pupils: no other tribe of Hindus learn this sacred language. At Indore, Mundissor, and some other towns, there are Shastries, who instruct a few scholars, but have no regular schools.

In the schools of Central India the common language taught is the dialect of the Hindui termed Rangree*, which, as well as accounts, is learnt by all the children of the citizens who can afford it; and in every village that has above one hundred houses there is a schoolmaster, who teaches the children of the Bunnias, or shopkeepers, and those of such cultivators as choose.

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* The Rangree Bhaka prevails as far West as the Indus, East as far as the frontier of Bundelcund, South to the Satpoorah hills, and North to Jeypoor, Joudpoor, and Jesselmere. There is in different provinces a difference in the pronunciation, and in many of the words; but the language is the same, and is written in the same character. Many books and songs have been composed in this language. The word Rangur, the Rajpoots say, is derived from Run, signifying battle, and Ghur, a fort; an epithet asserted to have been given them by one of the Kings of Delhi, expressive of their bravery: but the Mahrattas say, that the derivation is from Ran, which means a Jungle or forest, and Gurree, a man, or metaphorically a barbarian.

With the latter, such instruction is not deemed indispensable, but they are all aware of its value, and, when they can afford it, they invariably give their children education. The teachers are paid, by the parents of the scholars, from two rupees to two annas* per month, according to their respective ability, and sometimes receive voluntary contributions. The town schoolmaster is held in great respect, and has often an annual festival celebrated in his honour at the town, when he goes through the streets in procession with his pupils, and a collection is made for him. The office is usually hereditary from generation to generation in the same family. In villages the Brahmin Pursaee, or priest, is usually the schoolmaster; in some that office is performed by a Jati (a holy man of the sect of Jain), and sometimes by a Bunnia (a man of the mercantile tribe) who has become a little more learned than his brethren. In all these schools there is considerable discipline, and some of the masters are very severe, and their authority over their scholars is deemed equal to that of a father over his children. There are no schools for females in Central India, such institutions being quite incompatible with the prejudices and usages of the natives: education among women is therefore rare; even in the tribe of Brahmins, not one in a hundred can read.

* The sixteenth part of a rupee, not quite twopence.

The dancing girls here, as in other parts of India, are often well instructed, and almost all the principal Rajpoot ladies have sufficient learning to carry on their own correspondence.

Among the merchants of the Jain tribe, women are not, in general, educated; but when they are left widows at an early age, they are in the habit of devoting themselves to Jaties, or priests, with whom they abide, and from whom they learn not only the rites, but also to read the sacred books of their religion: they become, in fact, mendicant priestesses*, and exercise considerable influence over the females of their tribe.

Neither the past history of India, nor that of their immediate country, forms a part of the instruction of the schools, as the Natives take no interest in such subjects; their education, when it goes beyond learning to read and write, has no object except making them acquainted with the mythology, the fabulous origin, and the rites and usages of their particular sect. A few Brahmins acquire a knowledge of astronomy, so far as it is necessary for the purposes of judicial astrology, which many of them profess; and to Kaits, Bunnias, and others, sufficient is imparted to enable

* Such females are known by the name of Arjah; they are respected for their knowledge, not their conduct. Women, who have adopted this vagrant life, are never allowed any intimate intercourse with families.

them to write letters upon common business, and to keep clear accounts: the latter is perhaps the only art which is taught to considerable perfection.

Festivals, &c.

The great Hindu festivals of India, particularly the Dusserah, Dewally, and Hooly, are observed with the same ceremonies in Central India as elsewhere. Different tribes have a marked preference for the feast peculiar to each. The Dusserah*, with all its associations and sanguinary rites, is particularly adapted to the feelings and habits of the Rajpoots and Mahrattas; while that of the Dewally is the favourite one of the Bunnias, or merchants, who delight in the illuminations and entertainments that take place at the close of the festival. At this date, the accounts for the past year are closed, new books are commenced; and numbers of the younger branches of the community enjoy, from usage, a latitude of gambling for eight days, in which almost all join† who come within the vortex of its celebration. But the Hooly festival appears the joyous period, in which every sect (including the Mahomedan cultivators) join: it is,

* For a full account of this remarkable feast see Bombay Transactions, vol. iii. p. 73.

† In the principal towns of Central India, Government derive a very considerable profit from the licenses they grant to gambling-houses during this short period of general dissipation.

beyond all others, the popular festival with the lower classes. During this carnival, which lasts four weeks, men forget both their restraints and distinctions; the poorest may cast the red powder upon his lord, the wife is freed from her habitual respect to her husband, and nothing but the song and the dance is heard. The festival extends, to the lowest inhabitants, equal, if not greater enjoyments than to the higher; and for the last eight days the labourer ceases from his toil, and the cultivator quits his field, deeming it impious to attend to any thing but the voice of joy and gladness.

Amusements.

Though it is principally at their festivals that the Natives of this country enjoy themselves, they partake fully of the games and amusements common to other parts of India. In the towns, gambling with dice is a prevalent vice, but it is little known in villages. The military portion of the population who have horses, pass a great part of their time in training and exercising them, and in learning the use of the spear. Both these and the poorer classes, who follow the profession of arms, study the use of the sword under competent teachers, and practise with their matchlocks till they come to great perfection; they also improve their activity and strength by gymnastic exercises.

Dancing-girls are the luxury of large towns, but every cluster of villages in Central India

have attached to them (living in huts or tents) men and women of the Nutt or Bamallee tribes. The former are tumblers and rope-dancers; the latter are jugglers. Both of them have rude musicians and minstrels, and it is their music and songs which form the common entertainments of the peasantry. The villages are also frequently visited by drolls and strolling players*: many of the latter are very clever. The subject of the satire of the plays, or rather farces, which they represent, is as often their mythological fables, as the measures of their earthly rulers and governors. The figures of the demigod Hunoomaun, with his monkey face,—Ganesa, with his elephant head and portly belly,—are brought on the stage, to the great entertainment of the spectators. The incarnation of the Hindu Deities is a common topic with these players; and the frisking of the figure of a large fish, which represents one of the principal incarnations of Vishnu, always excites bursts of applause. The Raja, his Dewan, and all the ministers of his court, are frequent objects of ridicule with the actors in Central India; but what gives most delight to the peasant is a play in

* A Brahmin named Balooba, who often acted in my camp before a numerous audience of European gentlemen and ladies, as well as of Natives, was hardly inferior in talent (particularly in the art of mimicry) to some of the most celebrated performers in England.

which the scenes that he is familiar with are exhibited. The new manager or renter of a district, for instance, is exhibited on the stage with his whole train of officers and attendants: every air of consequence is assumed by the new superior, every form of office is ostensibly displayed; the Potails and villagers are alternately threatened and cajoled, till they succeed in pacifying the great man by agreeing to his terms, or by gaining one of his favourites, who appears in the back part of the scene whispering and taking bribes. In some of these representations the village Potail is described as losing his level, from his intercourse with courtiers, and becoming affected and ridiculously great among his poor friends; and this commonly closes in some event that shews him in a condition of ludicrous degradation and repentance. Such representations are received with acclamation by the village audience of men, women, and children, who sit for whole nights looking at them. The actors are fed by the principal people, and a little money is collected for their reward; they also receive a mite* from the village revenue. The place of exhibition is usually a green near the village; but on particular occasions, such as marriages or festivals, a temporary building is erected.

* It forms, as has been stated in the chapter on Revenue, a regular item of collection.

Habits and Character of the Peasantry.

The peasants of Central India, both male and female, appear a remarkably cheerful race. They are particularly fond of singing: the men, after the labour of the day is over, will sit for hours in circles singing in chorus, or listening to some story, the subject of which is generally religious, and mixed with tales of their former princes, and the deeds of their forefathers. The women all sing; and it is usual to see them returning in groups from a well or river with water for the use of their families, chanting in chorus some favourite songs. At the village marriages the women join in dances, and in every other scene of innocent merriment, with a liberty that is not exceeded by the usages of the same class in any part of the world. In all the ceremonies of their worship, and those observed at births and marriages, there is no difference between the Natives of this country and the same tribes in other provinces of India.

The lower inhabitants of Central India have much of that simplicity of manners which belongs to those of the Mahrattas. They seat themselves on the ground without ceremony when in presence of a superior, and express what they have to state with freedom. There is, indeed, in the habits of all orders a difference which must strike persons from Hindustan, where the remains of that distance between superior and inferior, established by a proud despotic race of Mahomedan

lords, are still found, and constitute a species of manner which those that have not visited other countries think is, or ought to be, that of the Natives of all India. Such are always surprised, and sometimes offended, at the habits of this country, and particularly at one usage, which is common, that of men making the Salam with the left hand, which often originates in a superstitious vow, that has exclusively consecrated the right hand to the offices of religion.

Slavery in Malwa, and adjoining provinces, is chiefly limited to females; but there is, perhaps, no part of India where there are so many slaves of this sex. The dancing-girls are all purchased, when young, by the Nakins, or heads of the different sets or companies, who often lay out large sums* in these speculations. Female children and grown-up young women are bought by all ranks. Among the Rajpoot chiefs these slaves are very numerous, as also in the houses of the principal Brahmins. The usage, however, descends to the lowest classes, and few merchants or cultivators are without mistresses or servants of this description: male slaves are rare, and never seen but with men of some rank and property, with whom they are usually the confidential servants. Slavery.

There are a variety of ways in which slaves are

* They obtain advances from Soucars, upon interest, like other classes.

procured in Central India. Numbers date their condition from a famine or scarcity, when men sold their children to those who were able to support them, with a natural view of preserving the lives of their offspring, at the same time that they obtained means of protracting their own. A great number of the slaves of this country are from Rajpootana*, where the excesses of the Mahrattas drove the inhabitants to exile, and to such distress that they were compelled to part with their children. But, besides these sources of slavery, there are others of a more criminal nature.

There are many instances of Rajpoots, and men of other tribes, particularly Sondies, selling the children whom they have by their slaves, who are considered born in a state of bondage. This only takes place when the father is in distress, or when he is tempted by a large price. The sale, however, of the offspring of these women by other fathers than their masters is more common. The slaves bred (to use a term suited to their condition) in this manner are not numerous; but the farther demand is supplied by the Brinjarries†, or

* Marwar is the province from which the greatest numbers are obtained. In the famine 1813-14, Ameer Khan formed in that country a battalion of children and youths of this class 1200 strong.

† For an account of this tribe, see Bombay Transactions, vol. i. p. 159.

grain-carriers, who import females into and from Guzerat* and other countries, which they usually pretend to have bought, and by the tribe of Gwarriah, who have been already noticed as open and professed stealers of female children.

When these slaves are bought, an inquiry is made as to their tribe; and the general answer (particularly from the Gwarriahs) is, that they are Brahmins or Rajpoots. The children are taught to make pretensions to high birth; and daily instances occur of whole families losing caste, in consequence of these being too hastily credited†. When persons of inferior tribes discover their daughters, or husbands their betrothed wives, in the houses of Brahmins, which often happens, the latter are compelled to undergo long and expensive penances to recover the purity from which they and their family have fallen, in consequence of being defiled by intercourse with females so far below them. It is a remarkable fact, and one of the few creditable to the late community of the Pindarries, that among the numerous prisoners of all ages and sexes whom they took, though they

* Guzerat has, during the late troubled state of Central India, drawn annually a large supply of female slaves, chiefly through the Brinjarries, from that country.

† Among the numerous females whom my efforts have recovered from slavery, several of very low tribes have been discovered in the houses of Brahmins, where they had been treated as belonging to their own sect.

employed them as servants, gave them to their chiefs, and accepted ransoms for them from their relations, they never sold them into bondage, nor carried on, like the Brinjarries, a traffic in slaves.

Females in Malwa, except in times of scarcity, or general distress from any cause, (when they are very cheap,) are sold from forty and fifty to one hundred and one hundred and fifty rupees *; the price is accordant with their appearance. They have been at times an article of considerable commerce, many being annually sent to the Southward, particularly to the Poona territories, where they sold high. This trade, which has of late years decreased, was principally carried on by the Mahratta Brahmins †, some of whom amassed great sums by the shameless traffic.

Male slaves, it has been stated, are not common in Central India, and they are generally treated more like adopted children than menials. The case is very different with females, who almost in every instance are sold to prostitution; some, it is true, rise to be favourite mistresses of their master, and enjoy both power and luxury, while others are raised by the success of their sons,—but

* That is, from 5*l.* to 18*l.*

† Benaick Pundit, a Brahmin agent, who resided about twenty years ago, as the chief Government officer of Dhar, in the district of Bersiah, made a large fortune by this trade. He used to send from fifty to sixty of these females every year to Poona.

these are exceptions. The dancing women, who are all slaves, are condemned to a life of toil and vice for the profit of others; and some of the first Rajpoot chiefs or Zemindars*, who have from fifty to two hundred female slaves in their family, after employing them in the menial labours of their house during the day, send them at night to their own dwellings, where they are at liberty to form such connexions as they please; but a large share of the profits of that promiscuous intercourse into which they fall is annually exacted by their master, who adds any children they happen to produce to his list of slaves. The female slaves in this condition, as well as those of the dancing sets, are not permitted to marry, and are often very harshly used. The latter, from this cause and the connexions they form, are constantly in the habit of running away. If discovered, they are always given up, provided the deed of purchase can be produced, which must be registered at the police-office† of a market-town at the period the slave is bought.

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* The present Rajpoot Zemindar of Tal on the Chumbul has at least one hundred and fifty slaves. The father of the present Zemindar of Jowrah had at one time three hundred. The principal Brahmin ministers at the courts of Sindia and Holkar have from ten to fifty or sixty of these female slaves in their families. The Rawul of Banswarra has two hundred.

† This office is termed the Cutwal's Chabootry, or town-magistrate's sitting-place.

It is not the habit of the Native governments of Central India to take any cognizance of the punishment which masters inflict upon slaves, except such as extends to their life, when they are responsible: they are in some cases cruelly treated, but this is not general; it is, indeed, against the interest of the master to do so, when there are so many opportunities of escaping from his authority.

The state of Central India for the last thirty years has been favourable to the species of slavery described, and that province is filled with the mixed progeny of these unfortunate women. This traffic must, however, now decrease, as the Gwarriahs and others who carried it on can no longer steal or conceal children with that confidence of impunity which they had long done. A few years ago no man dared to leave his own district to inquire after his wife or daughter; the whole country can be now traversed in safety: this change, and the discoveries of guilt that have recently been made, will hasten the end of this abominable usage.

Mendicity. Mendicity in Central India is the pursuit of two classes:—to the one it is a profession, by which those who follow it live, and by devoting themselves to be objects of charity have no other means of support; but with the other class it is the result of accidental necessity or distress:—the one body of mendicants is a permanent infliction

on the community, while the numbers of the other fluctuate with the state of the season, or general condition of the country. In the first class are to be included all Brahmins, who are religious functionaries at temples, or who, devoted to that life, are without employ: these are very numerous in Central India; their general pretext is, to obtain money to marry their daughters, or to proceed on a pilgrimage. There are few Brahmin females that are mendicants. The Mahomedan Fakeers, and the Hindu Gosseins, Byragies, Joggies, Bhâts, and Jaties, are all religious beggars. The Pursaee, or priest of the village, is also a mendicant, upon the same principle.

Among those who are beggars from distress, besides the blind and lame, may be enumerated, in Central India as elsewhere, great numbers whom real misfortune has reduced to poverty, and some who are the victims of idleness and vice. The numbers of the latter are greatly increased by that casual and ostentatious charity, so common to rich Natives, of feeding indiscriminately a number of poor; but this is limited to large towns, and even in them there are castes, such as the Kaits, among whom beggars are unknown; they are also very rare among the large tribe of Bunnias or merchants. In villages it is uncommon, except in times of scarcity, to meet a beggar unless of the religious class, with whom, as has been stated, begging is a profession. In almost

every hamlet there is, as the attendant of its humble shrine, (which it is his duty to sweep and keep clean,) a holy mendicant, who is termed a Bhopah, and who is usually of the Goojur or some low tribe. There are in this country few pretenders, even, to medical knowledge*, and these reside in the principal towns. An offering of a handful of grain, and a pice†, to a Bhopah, is the usual means of the villager to obtain relief, when himself or any of his family is indisposed; and the remedy is usually a few grains of his offering returned, after they have been sanctified by lying on the shrine, or by a few incantations. When, as is often the case, a peasant believes that he suffers from witchcraft, he has also recourse to the Bhopah; but this subject will be noticed hereafter.

Sutties and Infanticide.

The practice of Suttie, or self-immolation of widows‡, was formerly very common in Central India, as is proved by the numerous grave-stones, on which the figures of the husband and the wife

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* In Central India it is usual for the village Hujam, or barber, particularly the Mahomedan ones, to have some knowledge of medicine; they are expert also at setting broken limbs, and their wives usually act as midwives.

† A small copper coin.

‡ It is not always confined to widows: among the few Sutties which have occurred this last year, two (one at Amjherra and the other at Katchrode) have been mothers, who burnt on the death of their only sons.

who burnt herself after his death are both engraven. This usage prevailed most when the Rajpoots had power and influence. The Mahomedan rulers endeavoured, as much as they could without offending their Hindu subjects, to prevent it; and the Mahrattas, since they acquired paramount power in this country, have, by a wise neglect and indifference, which neither encouraged by approval, nor provoked by prohibition, rendered this practice very rare. In the whole of Central India there have not been, as far as can be learnt, above three or four Sutties annually for the last twenty years. They are much limited* to particular tribes of Brahmins and Rajpoots; and it is consolatory to add, that those shocking scenes which still occur on the death of the Princes of Jeypoor, Joudpoor, and Odeypoor, to swell whose funeral honours numbers of unwilling females are forcibly thrown upon the pile, are unknown to this country. There has not been a Suttie with any of the three last Rajas of Ragooghur; the Sesodya family of Pertaubghur have had none for three generations; and the present Raja, Sawut Singh, (an excellent man) is not only adverse to this shocking usage, but the open and declared enemy of female infanticide. When the Raja of Banswarra died, not one of A.D. 1819.

* They sometimes happen amongst the Bheels, but the instances are rare.

his wives desired to burn, though the bards of the family sang to them the fame of the former heroines, who had acquired immortality by perishing in the flames which had consumed the body of their lords. Among the Rajpoots, the females of the Bhuttee tribe are the most prompt to sacrifice themselves; indeed, with most of them it is a point of honour not to outlive their husbands. There are few of this class in Central India; where no Suttie has been known to take place for many years, in which the parties were not voluntary victims, and acting against the advice and remonstrance of their friends, and the public officers of the district where it occurred.

Infanticide is not known among the lower classes: this shocking custom appears limited to some Rajpoot chiefs* of high rank and small

* The present Raja of Pertaubghur abolished female infanticide within his territories about thirty-eight years ago. Bishen Singh, Rawul of Banswarra, about the same period, prohibited the practice within his own territories, where it prevails only to a very limited extent. Various causes combine to excite or introduce this usage into a family. The petty Thakoor or Lord of Cherawul (a relation of the Amjherra family) married a daughter to the Rawul of Banswarra thirty-four years ago. The pride of the Thakoor's family was so excited by this, that it was resolved no female should make an inferior match, and the despair of such good fortune again has led to every female child being killed. Suntook Ram, minister of Amjherra, told me he was sitting with Puddum Singh, the present Thakoor, when he heard the birth of a female infant

fortunes, who, from a despair of obtaining a suitable marriage for their daughters, are led by an infatuated pride to become the destroyers of their own offspring. This usage is, however, on the decline; and every effort* has been made to prevent the recurrence of such crime.

According to former accounts, self-destruction among men†, by casting themselves, during public

whispered in his ear. He saw him preparing between his fingers the fatal pill of opium (the usual signal), but he implored that the child might live: his request was granted, "and this little girl, (added Suntook Ram) now eight years of "age, is always called my daughter."

* In speaking to those Natives who enjoyed superior rank and station under the authority or control of the British government, I have always expressed my horror at self-immolation, and my hope that, through their influence in society, and their desire not to outrage the feelings of their European superiors, it would in time be abolished. But with regard to infanticide, I have ever, when it was mentioned, stated my abhorrence of the murders that were committed under the plea of this usage, and refused to see those that practised it. Such sentiments were never found to give offence.

† Two cases have recently occurred of self-inhumation, in the district of Shujahalpoor. In one instance, no reason could be assigned but that which the person expressed, viz. that he was tired of his existence; and in the other, the subject was afflicted with an incurable malady. A large excavation was made, so as to admit the person who was to be buried to stand with his head about a foot below the surface of the ground: the earth was then filled in very gradually by the relations and neighbours of the victim till it reached the head, when, at a signal given by him, the cavity was rapidly filled. Such was

festivals, from a rock at Onkar Mundattah, and from a precipice near Jawud*, was once common. These sacrifices have of late years seldom occurred†. The men who sacrifice themselves are generally of low tribes‡. One of the leading motives by which they are said to be actuated, is a belief that they will be re-born Rajas in their next state of transmigration; but it is no slight motive that can bring the human mind to the resolution of committing such an act, and almost all these victims are either insane from religious feeling too strongly excited, or men bred up to

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the anxiety of all concerned and present that these acts of self-devotion might not be interrupted, that they were hurried through before the answer to the reference made to superior authority could be received. The result of all the enquiries instituted proved, that the act was in both cases entirely spontaneous.

* The name of this place is Suk Deo. There is also a rock called Gantimjee, near Pertaubghur, from whence devotees cast themselves.

† Lieutenant Douglas was detached from Mundleysir with a company of Sepoys, in November 1820, to keep the peace at Onkar Mundattah during the Jatra, or festival, and had directions to prevent these voluntary sacrifices by every means short of force. A Gossein, who had vowed a pilgrimage to Bhadri Nath without the means of performing it, was the only person who offered to become a victim, and he was easily persuaded to relinquish his intention by Moojgeer, the manager of Burwannee, who happened to be present, and promised to pay the expense of the Gossein to Bhadri Nath.

‡ They are usually Bheels, Dhers, or Chumars.

the continual contemplation of the sacrifice which they make: the latter are generally the first-born sons of women who have been long barren, and who, to remove what they deem a curse, have vowed that their child (if one is given them) shall be devoted to Onkar Mundattah. The first knowledge imparted to the infant is this vow; and the impression is so implanted in his mind as an inevitable fate, that he often appears, for years before he comes to the rocky precipice which overhangs the Nerbudda, like a man haunted by his destiny. There is a tradition, supported by popular belief, that it is incumbent to make a person whose life is saved after the tremendous fall over the rock, (which is more than one hundred and twenty feet,) Raja of the place; and it is farther stated, that this petty principality was thus obtained about one hundred and fifty years ago. To prevent, however, the possibility of the recurrence of such a succession, poison is mixed with the last victuals given to the devoted man, and its action is usually increased by stimulants before the dreadful leap is taken. There however, as at the pile of the Suttie, retreat is not permitted, and armed men are ready to compel the completion of the scene, as well as to finish any remains of life that may appear after the fall. Women sometimes, but rarely, sacrifice themselves in this manner*.

* In April 1819, a man and his wife of the Koonbee tribe, belonging to a village in the Mundissor territory, sacrificed

Witchcraft. The belief in witchcraft is common to all India, but it prevails in an extraordinary degree in Central India. From the most learned Brahmin to the lowest Bheel, all share in this superstition; the consequences of which have been, and are, too fatal to those who are its objects and victims to admit of its being passed over with a slight notice.

The idea entertained of Dhakuns, or witches, is, that certain women (generally the old and wrinkled) are endowed with a limited supernatural power, which, though it does not enable them to see into futurity, or to obtain what they wish, empowers them, with the aid of their familiar, or Bheer, and by their incantations, to inflict pains, diseases, or death, upon human beings or animals, as they may desire to gratify their malice or resentment. The common mean to which they are believed to have resort to accomplish their vengeance is, causing the gradual decay of the liver of the person or animal they wish to destroy. Their power of witchcraft exists on the 14th, 15th, and 29th of every month. It is also very strong during certain periods of the year, particularly nine days before the Dusserah feast; but the Dewally is the time when they have most

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themselves; the brother of the Raja of Pertaubghur endeavoured, but without effect, to dissuade them. The man was twenty-seven years of age, and the woman twenty: they threw themselves headlong, hand in hand.

power. At other periods Dhakuns appear, dress, talk, and eat, like other women; but, when the fit is on them, they are sometimes seen with their eyes glaring red, their hair dishevelled and bristled, while their head is often tossed around in a strange convulsive* manner. On the nights of these days they are believed to go abroad, and, after casting off their garments, to ride upon tigers and other wild animals; and if they desire to go upon the water, the alligators come, like the beasts of the forest, at their call, and they disport in rivers and lakes upon their backs till near dawn of day, about which period they always return home, and assume their usual forms and occupations. Such absurd belief would not merit mention, did not the numerous murders (they can be called by no other name) which it annually produces force it into notice. It is calculated, and on tolerable data, that within the last thirty years, above a thousand women have been put to death as witches in this country, of whom a very large proportion have perished by the orders of Zalim Singh, regent of Kotah, who, with all his extraordinary talent, is remarkable for his weak, childish superstition upon this point†. His

* I give this description from the account given to me by several men (very sensible on all other points) who declared they had frequently seen Dhakuns in this state.

† The following extract from a Kotah Akbar, or newspaper, dated 5th September, 1819, furnishes another proof of

reputation has gone far to confirm the belief of others, and in several late murders of supposed witches, his example has been brought forward*, while the acknowledged superiority of his understanding has been urged as an infallible proof of the existence of sorcery, and of its guilty supernatural agents. The usual mode of proving whether an accused woman is a witch, is through a religious mendicant of low tribe, who is termed a

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the weakness of this otherwise great and able ruler; and is worth recording, from the singular coincidence of the very same prejudice against cats having existed in our own country not a century ago.

"The Raj Rana gave orders this day to the Cutwall, or magistrate, to seize all the cats in the cantonment, and to take them over the river Sind. Every man who caught and brought a cat was promised a present of one rupee. The ..... of this proceeding is, that the Taseer-i-Goorbah, or influence of cats, is like that of Dhakuns, or witches."

* The following is an extract of a letter from Major Henley to me, dated 14th August, 1819.

"The Dhakuns, or sorceresses, are oftener met with about Mundissor and your side, than they are here; and their alleged attributes are every where precisely the same. The subject has, however, been forced on my notice lately by two unfortunate women, who had fallen under this imputation, having been cruelly murdered; one by the Rawul of Rajghur, and the other in Sindia's district of Shujahalpoor: a third unfortunate creature, similarly situated, threw herself on my protection. On my taxing the Rawul with his cruelty, he quoted Zalim Singh as his authority for the practice; who, he said, had killed twelve of these creatures at a recent period.

Bhopah, and is believed to have the talent of discovering those who have the latent power of sorcery; but, generally, for a woman of a village to be old and haggard, and bad-tempered, is sufficient to make suspicion fall upon her. If a man, his wife, or child, or any of his cattle, remain long in bad health, or die suddenly, and any old woman is supposed to have an ill-will against him or his family, she is seized, and red pepper* is stuffed into her eyes: if this process does not produce tears, the unfortunate creature is condemned; sometimes she is flogged with the branches of the Nux vomica, or with the root of the Palma Christi, or Castor-oil plant; and if these (after other stripes have failed) make her call out, she is deemed a sorceress, for they alone can inflict pain upon such a being. On other occasions, the witch is tied in a bag and thrown into a pool, where sinking is the only proof of her innocence. If her struggles keep her afloat, she is inevitably condemned and punished, either by being obliged

* The Bhopahs use these means also, but not before they have tried others; and their supposed knowledge is turned by these village mendicants into a source of profit: their testimony will usually clear a woman of suspicion.

In a case of murder brought before me in December 1819, the husband of an unhappy female, whose brains had been beat out as a witch, produced the certificate of a Bhopah of some celebrity, stating that his wife was not acquainted with the black art: he told me, that a desire to clear her of suspicion had led him to obtain this at the cost of eighty rupees.

to drink the water used by the leather-dressers, which is a degradation from caste, or by having her nose cut off, or being put to death. The latter often occurs through the superstitious fears of princes; or among the lower classes, through the violent resentment of individuals; nor are the latter exposed to suffer for such crimes, when they can produce any ground whatever for their suspicion.

After these facts, it appears almost incredible that, though the accusation of being Dhakuns, or witches, is usually denied by the unfortunate women to whom it is affixed, some encourage the opinion that they possess supernatural powers, which gives them both profit and influence in the community. They are propitiated, by women with child, and by others whose infants are sickly, with presents, and requests for their prayers; and as they alone are supposed to have the power of counteracting the incantations of other witches, they are often secretly employed for this purpose.

Among the inhabitants of the provinces of Rath and Bagur, men will not marry into a family where there is not a Dhakun to save them from the malice of others; but this name, which is odious, is not given to those persons by their relations and friends; they are termed Rekwallee, or guardians. In these countries, this belief is more in extreme than in Malwa, and they have many wizards, as well as witches; but enough

has been said upon the subject. Though this superstition is general, and too deep-rooted to give way, except gradually, as knowledge is introduced, sufficient has been already done * to diminish greatly, if not altogether to prevent, future murders being committed upon the unhappy class of beings who are branded with the imputation of sorcery.

The ignorance and superstition of a great majority of the inhabitants of India place them much in the power of the better-informed classes of their countrymen, who desire to work upon their passions and prejudices. Never was a stronger instance given to prove this fact, than one that occurred in Central India in May 1818. The war with the Pindarries was then over, and the country was in a state of tolerable tranquillity, when a sudden agitation was produced among the peaceable inhabitants, by a number of cocoa-nuts† being passed from village to village with a

* Mr. Wellesley, the Resident at Indore, in his despatch, under date the 28th July, 1820, details a remarkable case, in which his insisting upon the accusers undergoing the same ordeal (of being thrown into a deep pool) as the accused, was attended with a happy effect. Tantia Jogh, the Dewan of the Holkar state, though imbued with this superstition, was amused and instructed by this example, and declared to me his resolution to have it followed on all occasions of a similar nature.

† In some parts, small pieces of copper money accompanied the cocoa-nuts.

mysterious direction to speed them to specific destinations (usually to the chief local authority*.) From beyond Jeypoor North to the Deckan South, and from the frontier of Guzerat to the territories of Bhopal, this signal flew with unheard-of celerity. The Potail of every village where these cocoa-nuts came, carried it himself with breathless haste to another, to avert a curse which was denounced on all who impeded or stopped them even for a moment. No event followed to throw any light upon this extraordinary occurrence. Every inquiry was instituted, and persons were sent who traced the route of the signal for several hundred miles; but no information was obtained; and a circumstance which

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* Upwards of twenty Potails brought their cocoa-nuts to my tent when at Mhow, near Indore, where I had just commenced the building of a cantonment. I requested them to remain a few hours, and when all were assembled, I carried them to a spot where I was laying the foundation of a house, and taking advantage of a superstitious custom of the workmen of Southern India (who were employed), which requires them to break and distribute cocoa-nuts on such an occasion, I desired that those brought might be used; and told the Potails they would now see why they had been sent with such speed to my tent; and I trusted, they would draw from the occurrence a good augury of the happy commencement and implied permanency of the British power. They seemed satisfied with the explanation; and it turned into a subject of mirth with the natives of the camp, what might have caused serious thought and alarm.

produced, for upwards of a month, a very serious sensation over all Central India, remains to this moment a complete mystery. Various conjectures were made at the moment, as to the cause in which it originated, as well as its meaning and purpose. Some thought it a sign of the complete establishment of the British power. Others believed that it indicated a general rise in favour of the Paishwah Bajerow, who had not then submitted; while persons sent to trace it into the Jeypoor country, returned with an account that the pious gratitude of a holy Brahmin had circulated cocoa-nuts through his native district to proclaim his joy at the birth of a son, and that the signal, which spread like wildfire, gained a portentous character as it became remote from the simple cause in which it commenced. If this be the case, (and it is not improbable,) it exhibits, in a very remarkable degree, the extent of the credulity and susceptibility of sudden impulse to action, which exist among the lower classes of the Natives of India.

Military Establishments.

The various tribes which compose the population of Central India having been described, it remains to take a view of the military establishments of the different princes and chiefs of that country. These, as may be imagined, principally consist of Hindu soldiers, but the proportion necessarily varies in different States. In the army of Sindia, Holkar, and Zalim Singh,

we may reckon five Hindus to one Musulman. The troops of the petty State of Bhopal give a much greater proportion of Mahomedans; as almost all the horse, and a considerable number of the infantry, including one thousand Afghans from Paishawur and Cabul, are of that class.

The six hundred horse belonging to the Jaghiredar Ghuffoor Khan are all Mahomedans; but the Rajpoot petty principalities*, whose armed followers may be estimated at six thousand five hundred horse and foot, are almost all Hindus. There are Mahomedans in some of the principal towns, who still maintain horses, in expectation of employment, and live upon the remains of their broken fortunes; but they do not certainly exceed one thousand. The disproportion between Mahomedans and Hindus is much greater among the military part of the population of Central India, who, though not in the service of any regular State, still deem themselves soldiers by birth and profession; but the latter, including Rajpoot followers of Grassiah chiefs, Sondies, Bheelalahs, and other half-subdued races, who have latterly been suppressed, but yet continue tenacious of the habits of their forefathers, have all been taken into the reckonings made of the military population of the tracts they inhabit.

* The most important of these principalities are, Dhar, Dewass, Doongurpoor, Banswarra, Pertaubghur, Rutlam, Sillanah, Seeta Mhow, &c.

A calculation of the military establishment now maintained in Central India by princes and chiefs, is given in a Table in the Appendix *. By it (and the data from which it is formed are tolerably correct) the total amount is only 21,842 horse, and 51,917 foot. This number, however inconsiderable, or at variance with the experience of former times, is nevertheless perfectly reconcileable with the present condition of the country, which, after twenty years of violent convulsion, has subsided into a state of peace and tranquillity, that, guaranteed as it is by the paramount strength of the British government, leaves little inducement for the Native princes to keep in their service larger bodies of troops than are necessary for the purposes of state, and for the collection of the revenues.

Population.

As an object intimately connected with the internal prosperity of Central India, an early inquiry was instituted regarding the amount and character of its population. Correct tables were formed of the numbers of the inhabitants in the countries of Holkar and of the Puar Rajas of Dhar and Dewass. These Governments were forward to make the most exact census of every district within their limits, and the result is given in an abstract in the Appendix †. While we have to

* Vide Appendix, No. XIII.

† Vide Appendix, No. XIV. A. B.

congratulate ourselves upon the good-will and confidence which have obtained so much substantial information, it is to be regretted that the jealousy of Sindia and other states prevented its being more extended; but what we now possess enables us to judge, on tolerably certain grounds, the probable amount of the population of adjoining countries in a similar state of society and political condition.

Fourteen districts * have been selected, as containing a fair proportion of thinly and well-inhabited tracts. Their contents are found to be three thousand four hundred and seventy-two square miles; and their inhabitants, as ascertained by a most exact enumeration†, three hundred and forty-two thousand and seventy-seven souls—being in the proportion of ninety-eight to a square mile, which may safely be taken as a scale for the present reduced population of Central India. The number of persons to each house was found to differ considerably in different districts. In the city of Indore, it was a fraction more than five;

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* Indore, Saweir, Hasalpoor, Baitmah, Depalpoor, Allote, Burgnode, Dewass, Dhar, Budnawur, Mahidpoor, Turanah, Kaitah, and Nalcha.

† Nothing could be more detailed and clear than the tables of population furnished to me of every village and district. In all the classes, the males, females, and children, were distinguished; and in some, the names of every individual (in one district 30,000) were given.

while in many villages near that capital, the number did not exceed four: perhaps five may be taken as the average.

It was desired to ascertain the Bheel population in the Vindhya mountains, and the account received was corrected by a calculation of the ploughs and the land cultivated; for, however irregular the habits of this race have been, the proportion of their numbers to the soil they tilled was very correctly known. The tract taken (with Mandoo as its centre) was sixty miles East and West, and ten North and South, and contained one hundred and twelve Parrahs or hamlets; each hamlet had, on an average, nine huts, and not quite four persons to each hut. This makes about six to the square mile, which may perhaps be given as a tolerable scale of estimate for these mountain tribes, whose numbers the peaceable inhabitants in their vicinity are, from fear, always disposed to exaggerate*.

The abstract in the Appendix which gives the amount of the population of the countries that have been mentioned, may be depended upon for accuracy, having been compiled from a series of tables formed from voluminous and minute documents, specifying the trade and occupation of every family. None of these, however, include soldiers receiving regular pay, garrisons, or local

* Vide Appendix, No. XIV. C.

militia*, all of whom have been already noticed. But the civil classes, such as Brahmins, priests, merchants, shopkeepers, artisans, and peasants, who are unarmed, and are rarely, if ever, induced to become soldiers, have been carefully separated from the predatory and turbulent classes who hang loose upon the country, and consider arms as their profession. Such an arrangement enables us to form a tolerably correct idea of the numbers of those branches of the community which, in extraordinary times, might be called into action, either for or against the states to which they are subject. This of itself, though a matter of importance, is of very secondary consideration, when compared with the increased facility these censuses give of effectually establishing and maintaining the internal peace of Central India.

With materials such as we now possess, we are enabled at once to ascertain, not only the numbers, but the residence of a great proportion of those plundering classes† who have for many years past been the worst enemies to the prosperity of this country. In the dominions of Holkar and the Puars these tribes alone amount to 43,888 souls, and they may be calculated to be equally numerous in the territories of Dowlet Row Sindia, and his tributaries West of Shahjehanpoor and Aggur.

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* Sebundies.

† Moghies, Baugries, Bheels, Sondies, and Bheelalahs.

The Rajpoots of Central India, whether we consider their numbers, their pride and ignorance, or the attachment they have for their chiefs, claim, notwithstanding their want of union, and the degenerate state into which they have fallen, our most particular attention. Although not so numerous as in some adjoining countries, their character is the same, and they must at all times be governed with minute attention to their prejudices. From the censuses we possess of the territories of Holkar and the Puars, they amount to 71,191, which is a little more than one eighth of the whole; but in Sindia's dominions the proportion they bear to the other inhabitants is greater, and they may with certainty be calculated as forming a sixth part of the population. The most remarkable fact connected with the population of Central India is the small number of Mahomedans, whose proportion to the Hindus is only as one to twenty-one and a half; but it will be recollected that this race, which was never very numerous, has enjoyed little, if any power in that country, during the last century.

In concluding this part of the subject, it is most satisfactory to state, that several of the heads of the Native governments, who supplied the materials from which the censuses are formed, were so forcibly struck by the great utility of the information, that they have given orders for annual returns of births, deaths, removals, and new settlers, being

henceforward regularly furnished from every district. From the character and construction of their fiscal administration, this is an easy arrangement; and the returns of the district officers (if we judge from those already forwarded) will be full and accurate. A better idea of the benefit they themselves expect from the measure cannot be formed, than from the words of Tantia Jogh, who said*, when he supplied the voluminous tables of population of the Holkar territories, "In seeking this information, you have given me a knowledge which I can only describe by saying, that I feel, as a minister, like a man who has been couched for a cataract in his eye. It is light, after darkness."

* I have given the exact words used by Tantia Jogh to me on this occasion. His metaphor may appear extraordinary to those who are not aware that the Natives of India have skilful operators for couching a cataract in the eye.

CHAPTER XV.

Contrasted View of the State of Central India in A.D. 1817 *and* 1821.

THE former state of Central India has been fully exhibited in the preceding chapters; but it will be useful to take a short retrospect of the power of its princes and chiefs, and the condition of their territories in 1817, when the British armies entered the country; and by contrasting their past with their present condition, and giving a minute account of the means taken to introduce and maintain order and good government, we shall be enabled to bring the effects of the great change which has taken place into one view, and to estimate, more correctly than we otherwise could, the results of that interference in its affairs to which we have been compelled by circumstances that have been explained in the former pages of this work.

The political situation of Dowlet Row Sindia, at the close of A.D. 1817, has been fully described, as well as his disposition towards the British government, by the presence of whose armies he was, at that memorable epoch, forced to abandon

his cherished prospects, and to become, at the very moment he was recognised as its most powerful chief, the marked deserter of the cause of his Nation. It only remains to notice his past and present military means, and the condition of his territories in Central India.

His army* in A. D. 1817 consisted of about twenty-six thousand regular infantry, thirteen thousand cavalry, and three hundred and ninety-six pieces of cannon. There were, besides these, a large body of Pindarries, over whom he had control, if not command; some local corps, and the garrisons and guns of his fortresses; but only a few of the latter were of much strength†.

The territories of Sindia, though not so desolate as those of Holkar, were in a disturbed and deteriorated state. His army and military adherents were sufficiently disposed to war with

* The army of Dowlet Row Sindia was computed in 1817 at 15,500 horse, and 13,000 regular infantry, with a train of light artillery; attached to which there was a proportionate number of Golundauze for about 300 guns. This was independent of large guns in park, local corps of horse and foot employed for the collection of revenue and maintaining peace, and a number of loose corps of Pindarries and others.—Vide Captain Close's Correspondence.

† Asseerghur had perhaps the best defences; Gualior next. Both these are hill forts, as are Powaghur, Narwar, Chandéree, Ragooghur, Bujrunghur, and Rhatghur; while Sheopoor, Esaughur, and Gohud are upon the plain. There were likewise several other places of strength, but of less importance.

the British government, the progress of whose influence and power they viewed as tending to their reduction; but the cultivators of the soil, and the Rajpoot chiefs, who recognised the Mahratta prince as their sovereign, looked anxiously for any change that would relieve them from a state of distress and oppression.

The army of Holkar in 1817 consisted of about ten thousand infantry, fifteen thousand horse, and one hundred field guns, independent of Pindarries, Sebundies, and garrisons*. The territories of that prince presented, without the exception of a single district, one scene of desolation and anarchy, in which there appeared an absence of all government; but there still remained a few links that held together the loose materials of which this state was composed; and towards the end of 1817 its divided chiefs, alarmed at the common danger which threatened them, gave by their temporary union more shape and strength to its military branch, than it had known since the death of Jeswunt Row.

The army of Ameer Khan had been long separated from that of Holkar. It was fully equal to the latter in strength, as it consisted of eight thousand regular infantry, twenty thousand horse, and about

* The strongest forts belonging to Holkar were—Galna and Chandore, in Candeish; Hinglaisghur, in Malwa; and Sindwa, in Nemaur. In all these, but particularly the latter, there were a number of cannon.

two hundred guns, some brigades of which were drawn by horses. The lands belonging to this chief were in rather a better state than those of Holkar. This was owing to the Patan being more dreaded by the predatory bands, who lived at large upon the unprotected part of the country.

Zalim Singh, the Regent of Kotah, had in 1817 an army consisting of twelve thousand infantry, four thousand horse, and upwards of one hundred field guns. This regular, well-paid, and well-equipped force was independent of two thousand Rajpoots (of whom three hundred were horse), who owe service to the State of Kotah, as also of the militia of the country, and the garrisons of his numerous forts*, which were all well furnished with cannon. The territories of this principality were, from causes before mentioned, in a state of prosperity which was more striking from the condition of the neighbouring countries.

The Nabob of Bhopal was in 1817 almost limited to the possession of his fortified capital, and a few other forts†. His force consisted of about fifteen hundred horse and twelve hundred irregular infantry.

* The principal of these are Kotah (which is a fortified town), Shahabad, Gangroun, Sheaghur, and Narghur. There are, besides these, a number of Ghurries, or lesser fortifications, in the territories of Kotah, which are or have been the residence of the numerous petty chiefs who owe allegiance to the Raja.

† Ambapaunee, Raisseen, Gunnoorghur, and Chokeyghur.

The Jaghires of the Paishwah, and some belonging to Southern Mahratta chiefs in Central India, were unprotected, and consequently, in 1817, might be numbered amongst the most deteriorated parts of that country. They had only a few militia for their defence, and these were unable to oppose common plunderers.

The State of Dhar in 1817 could hardly be said to exist, except in name, as a government. Its territories had been usurped or laid waste, and the Regent Meena Bhye was, with her minor son, at the head of eight or ten thousand horse and foot, who subsisted wholly upon plunder. The Puar Rajas of Dewass had lost Sarungpoor, while the countries left to them produced little revenue, and that had been for years collected, as the season came, by Pindarries and other freebooters.

The condition of the Rajas of Banswarra, Doongurpoor, Pertaubghur, Rutlam, Seeta Mhow, Jabooah, Amjherra, and all others of this class, was nearly similar; and their distress was aggravated by the means they took to avert it; for, in almost all cases, the foreign mercenaries they employed to secure them from the Mahrattas proved still worse enemies. The revenues of their territories were reduced to the lowest ebb, and it was in some of these principalities difficult to understand how the inhabitants could subsist; but there was still some protection near towns and walled villages. The latter, which were formerly not

common, have multiplied greatly during the late troubles, and were sufficiently fortified to keep out horse and ordinary plunderers. It was only in the tracts near the Vindhya range and the Nerbudda, where the Pindarries, Gonds, and Bheels had their homes, that hundreds of villages were to be seen deserted and roofless*; for with these barbarous

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* Some of this tract of country might almost be said to have been usurped by wild beasts, and these literally fought with the returning inhabitants for their fields. I had detached Captain Ambrose to protect the countries near Oonchode and Baglee, and hearing accounts of the ravages of tigers in his vicinity, I directed that officer to transmit a specific account of the number of the inhabitants of the villages in his neighbourhood that had been killed, within the year 1818, by these animals. The following is his statement:

At Oonchode, - - -	39
Baglee, - - - -	17
Bhyre and Gorara, - -	8
Argooley, - - - -	15
Chousay, - - - -	5
Total - -	84

And two travellers wounded mortally between Ragooghur and Kurnawud, making a total number of 86. Captain Ambrose, in the memorandum he transmitted to me, mentions the names of the individuals killed and the villages they belonged to.

A subsequent statement, from an intelligent Native, swelled this amount of men killed, in 1818, to about 150. A number, but much fewer, lost their lives in 1819, and in 1820 hardly one. In many other parts of this country, the tigers have been as formidable to the returning population as near Baglee.

tribes no contribution could redeem the defenceless from violence, nor was any pledge of faith, however sacred, to be trusted. This state of their country left the inhabitants of the Southern parts of Malwa and of Nemaur the option of association with their oppressors or of exile. A great proportion chose the former, and became active instruments in spreading the desolation by which they had been ruined.

The contrast presented by a review of the condition of Central India in 1821, to what it was four years before, will appear almost incredible to any person who has not contemplated, upon the spot, the rapid progress of the change, and studied the causes by which it has been produced.

The campaign which had just terminated, was not an attack upon a State, or on a body of men, but upon a system. It was order contending against anarchy; and the first triumph was so complete, that there ceased, almost from the moment, to be any who cherished hopes of the contest being either prolonged or revived: the victory gained was slight, comparatively speaking, over armies, to what it was over mind. The universal distress, which a series of revolutions must ever generate, had gone its circle, and reached all ranks and classes. The most barbarous of those who subsisted on plunder had found that a condition of continued uncertainty and alarm could not be one of enjoyment. The princes, chiefs, and

inhabitants of this country, had neither national feelings, confidence in each other, nor any one principle of union. When therefore a government too strong to be resisted, proclaimed every district to be the right of its proprietor, on condition of his proving himself the friend of peace and good order; and when men found that the choice between such a course, and that of continuing the promoters of anarchy, was an option between its friendship or hostility, all concurred in submission. There appeared in a few a difficulty to conquer habits, but in none a spirit of opposition. The desolated state of the country was favourable to the change, for it presented an ample field for the revival of industry in peaceful occupations; but the paramount influence which the results of the war gave to the British government over several of the Native states, was the principal cause of that peace and prosperity which ensued. Its officers were enabled to give shape and direction to the efforts of these States, which became an example to others; and a tone of improvement was given to every province of Central India. This, however, to be understood, must be more minutely described.

Dowlet Row Sindia has already derived a double benefit from the change, in the reduction of his army, and the increase of his revenue. The former has been considerably reduced since 1817. The whole of this prince's force does not now ex-

ceed thirteen thousand regular infantry, and nine thousand horse. The artillery continues much the same; but the local horse and militia have been decreased more than one half; and all the large corps commanded by insubordinate chiefs, which were beyond all others destructive to the resources of his country, have been disbanded or dispersed. The saving in actual expenditure, from reductions alone, cannot be less than twenty lacs of rupees per annum; and it is difficult to calculate the amount of money and tranquillity gained by the extinction of men like Bappoo Sindia, Jeswunt Row Bhow, and other leaders, who commanded these bodies of his army, which were at once the most useless and expensive. In 1817 there was not one district belonging to Sindia in Central India, that was not, more or less, in a disturbed state;—in 1821 there existed not one enemy to the public peace. The progress of improvement in his territories differs in every part; but it is general. In the countries of Mundissor and Nolye, which were throughout preserved in comparative tranquillity, the advance of the revenue has not been more than ten or fifteen per cent. within the last three years; while the city and districts of Oojein, which border upon it, have risen within that period from a rent of about one lac and twenty-five thousand rupees, in 1817, to nearly three lacs. That of Bhilsa is still greater. It rented in 1817 for forty thou-

sand rupees*; and it yielded in 1821 two lacs and a half of rupees.

On the whole of Sindia's territories in this part of India, we may safely compute a rise of about twenty-five per cent. in the revenue, and a deduction of at least fifteen in the expenses of its collection. The whole of his possessions in Western Malwa are in a state of repose. The excesses of Dhokul Singh, which for the last two years disturbed the district of Ragooghur, are terminated by his being made prisoner, and the clamours of the mutinous infantry (lately under the command of Baptiste) are stopped for the moment. In short, the country of Dowlet Row Sindia enjoys as much tranquillity as can be obtained under such a system of government. Many cultivators, who had been induced to take shelter in his territories, from their affording comparatively more safety than those of Holkar and the lesser rulers, have gone to their native districts; but their places have been more than supplied by distressed and disbanded soldiers, who have returned to their former occupation as cultivators, or adopted from necessity habits of industry. In the territories of Sindia few villages were roofless, but many were reduced to four or five families. The number of inhabitants of all these, as well as of the towns,

* Kundee Row was the renter; this fact was stated to me by his agent Antajee.

has been increased, but in no proportion equal to those of Holkar and the possessions of the chiefs of the Puar family, whose recovery from a state of desolation and ruin to one of prosperity has been rapid in an extraordinary degree.

The amount of the army of the Holkar state in 1817 has been given; the battalions which were defeated and dispersed at Mahidpoor have never been re-embodied, and two hundred men to guard the palace are all the infantry now in the service of that prince. Three thousand horse are still kept up, and the artillery amounts to thirteen guns, of which eleven were presented by the British government from among those captured during the war.

The revenues of Holkar, from his possessions in Malwa and Nemaur, were in 1817 four lacs, forty-one thousand six hundred and seventy-nine rupees; in 1819-20 they were sixteen lacs, ninety-six thousand one hundred and eighty-three. The expenses of collection were, four years ago, from thirty-five to forty per cent.; they do not now exceed fifteen per cent., there being, in fact, hardly any Sebundy, or revenue corps, kept up. The proximity of the British troops, with the knowledge of the support and protection which that Government affords to the Holkar territories, has hitherto continued to preserve them in tranquillity. Nothing can, however, convey so complete an idea of the rapid

resuscitation of this state as the Table in the Appendix*, which exhibits at one view the villages in its different districts that have been re-inhabited since 1817. From this document it appears, that of three thousand seven hundred and one government villages†, which belong to the present possessions of Holkar, there were in 1817 only two thousand and thirty-eight inhabited; sixteen hundred and sixty-three were deserted, or as the natives emphatically term it, without lamp‡. In 1818, two hundred and sixty-nine villages were restored; in 1819, three hundred and forty-three; and in 1820, five hundred and eight, leaving only five hundred and forty-three deserted; and there can be no doubt, that these will, within three years, be re-populated. It is true that in some of the eleven hundred and twenty villages which have been restored within this short period, there are only a few houses with inhabitants, but, in almost all, the Native hereditary officers, such as Potails and Putwarries, have returned; cultivation has commenced, and will annually increase.

The administration of Holkar's territories is good; and all the intelligence and energy of a Native government is at present well directed to

* Vide Appendix, No. XV. A.

† Government villages mean those not assigned in Jaghire, Enam, &c.

‡ The Persian term *Be Charagh*, or without a lamp, is the word used to describe the extreme of desolation.

the increase of its resources, by the most legitimate means—the industry of its subjects. The class of cultivators in this country has had, and continues to have, numbers of recruits, from the encouragement given; and the minister, Tantia Jogh, is of opinion that the condition of the territories of this state will within five years be prosperous beyond what has ever been known even in the days of Alia Bhye. An account of the increased population has been given; that of Indore is surprising. This city has, within the short space of three years, changed from a desolate town to a flourishing capital.

The Puar states of Dhar and Dewass, whose territories had also been depopulated, present, when viewed in contrast between 1821 and 1817, an equally pleasing picture. The revenues of Dhar were, in 1819, two lacs and sixty-seven thousand; and in 1817, when the British troops entered Central India, they certainly did not produce twenty thousand rupees. In that year this petty state had a predatory army of eight thousand men; it has now a well-paid body of three hundred horse, and eight hundred irregulars and Sebundies. The restoration of villages in this country is exhibited in the Table in the Appendix*, and presents an increase in extent as great in proportion as that of Holkar; and, indeed, in some

* Vide Appendix, No. XV. B.

districts*, much greater. The administration of Dhar is conducted by Bappoo Raghunauth, who, acting in complete confidence of meriting and receiving the support of the British government, is incessant in his labours to restore this principality to prosperity. He is emulated in his efforts by Succuram Bappoo, the Brahmin Dewan of the two Rajas of Dewass. The territories of these two princes were reduced in 1817 to a revenue of ten thousand rupees; they collected in 1819 one lac, nine thousand three hundred and seventy-five rupees. Dewass, which was almost deserted, is now a populous town. No less than one hundred and forty-one villages have been re-peopled† since A. D. 1817; and their revenue now exceeds in amount what it has ever been under the present family of rulers. The same spirit of improvement, grounded on the pleasing contrast of their past and present condition, and their confidence of continued support from the British nation, pervades the governments of Holkar and the Puars.

The principality of Kotah is less changed by the late revolution than any other in Malwa. The districts‡ granted to this State by the treaty of Mundissor, which were in a disturbed state, have partaken of the benefits of restored tranquillity.

* The fine district of Dhurrumpooree on the Nerbudda has been restored from desolation.

† Vide Appendix, No. XV. C.

‡ Gungraur, Dugh, Putchpahar, and Alnor.

The extraordinary talent of Zalim Singh had, as has been fully shewn, derived profit to his territories from the distressed condition of his neighbours. He had obtained not only cultivators, but the power of exacting to the utmost from the produce of their industry. The general restoration of peace and good order has caused him to lose population in a degree beyond what he has gained by the dissolution of the predatory bands of Central India; and he has been compelled to stop emigration, by a great relaxation of his severe system of collection. To give more effect to such measures, as well as to conciliate the British government, he has publicly proclaimed* his intention of abolishing in future all exactions from the subjects of the government over which he presides. The subtle old politician even talks of erecting pillars in every district to perpetuate this act of involuntary justice. On the whole, therefore, it may be pronounced, that, if the revenues of Kotah are not improved since 1817, the condition of the inhabitants, particularly the cultivators, is undoubtedly so in a very essential degree.

The army of Kotah is of the same number, and upon the same footing, as it was in 1817. The men are of the best description, and they are regularly paid and well equipped.

The revenue and forces of Bhopal in 1817 have

* Vide Captain Tod's Correspondence.

been noticed. Its prince was then struggling for existence, and the small army he maintained to protract the contest called for an expenditure far beyond his means. Bhopal is now a substantive state in Central India, with territories increased by the liberality and friendship of the British government, whose object has been to give it as much consideration, and power, as its most prosperous rulers ever enjoyed.

The revenue of Bhopal in 1820 may be computed at nine lacs of rupees, and the country, as is shewn by the annexed Table*, is in a state of rapid improvement. The force of this favoured ally has been increased to two thousand horse, of which a great proportion are very good. He now maintains four thousand infantry of all classes, with about one hundred and eighty guns, of which thirty-six are field-pieces. In addition to the fortresses that were before in possession of the Nabob of Bhopal, he has, through the mediation of the British government, obtained Islamghur.

The only two districts belonging to Ameer Khan in Central India, are Seronge and Peerawah. They are both much improved since 1817, but particularly the latter, which is well managed, and has more than doubled its revenue since 1819.

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* Vide Appendix, No. XV.—D.

The Jaghire of Ghuffoor Khan has also undergone a considerable change. Its revenue in 1819 was three lacs seventy-six thousand three hundred and eighty-seven rupees, which gives an increase of at least fifty thousand rupees since 1817. Instead of the disorderly rabble this chief before maintained, he has now a well-mounted corps of six hundred horse, which are employed under the British government in maintaining the general tranquillity of the country.

The territories of Doongurpoor, Banswarra, and Pertaubghur, have experienced (particularly the two former) as great an improvement as any in Central India. The increase of their revenue has been stated; that of their population and cultivation has been in proportion; but it is the reform of the habits of their actual inhabitants, more than their increase, to which we must look for the restoration of these desolate countries, and that is in rapid and happy progress. The description which has been given of the great change that the four last years have effected in these petty States applies, with a little difference, to all the Rajpoot principalities West and East of the Chumbul. In every one, the foreign mercenaries have been disbanded, and no troops are employed beyond a few adherents of the family, and some natives of the country as Sebundies. The increase of revenue and cultivation has been proportionate to the confidence imparted by the exten-

sion to them of the general protection of the British government.

The numerous Grassiah chiefs and their adherents, who were in 1817 living at large upon the country, as they had done for a century past, are now in repose, and will lose, as their habits change, both the inclination and the power of resuming their turbulent courses.

The alteration in the condition of Sondwarra has been noticed, and is, perhaps, as remarkable as any that has occurred. That country, instead of being desolate, presents an increase of as many ploughs as any part of the province; and of the twelve hundred mounted robbers, who in 1817 found shelter in its fastnesses, whence they plundered the adjoining districts, there is not one who now follows a predatory life.

It is equally gratifying to contemplate the extraordinary change which has occurred among the Gonds, Bheelalahs, and Bheels in the Vindhya range, and along the banks of the Nerbudda. When the British armies entered Central India, and even in 1818, that country was not safe for even troops to pass; and till the end of the same year, when the cantonment had been established at Mhow, those robbers and thieves, who had so long desolated this quarter of Malwa, continued their depredations. These have not only been repressed, but the vicious and depraved portion of the community, by whom they were

committed, has become sensible of the blessings of a better course of life; and from the territories of Bhopal to those of Guzerat, along the right bank of the Nerbudda, and as far as from Hindia to the country of Burwanee on its left, a spirit of industry and improvement has been imparted. Men, noted as the chiefs of plunderers, are now contending for rights belonging to their ancestors, as hereditary cultivators; new villages are rising every where, and forests, which for many years have been deemed inaccessible, are fast clearing on account of the profit derived from the timber required to rebuild towns and cities. Between Jaum and Mandoo, the Bheels, before subject to Nadir Singh, are cultivating every spot, and their hamlets are rising with a rapidity that promises an early and complete change in the whole face of that tract. Many districts might be mentioned that are literally recovered from a complete waste. Maunpoor, which belongs to Sindia, has not paid revenue for sixty years; and in 1817 had not one inhabitant. It has now more than twenty families; but none have undergone a greater change, within the last few years, than the districts of Burdiah and Kaunapoor, which are situated on the left bank of the Nerbudda. By an account taken in 1818, when these came into the possession of the British government, there was only one inhabited village in Kaunapoor, and not one in Burdiah.

By a report of their state in 1820, there are fourteen in Kaunapoor, and thirteen in Burdiah; and in the Company's districts on the Nerbudda, (which, besides the above, include Mundleysir and Kusrawud,) no less than thirty-one villages have been re-populated within the last two years.

These changes in the revenue, and the restoration of towns and villages, are slight and comparatively unimportant to what have been effected in the minds of the inhabitants of Central India. Never was the reign of terror and anarchy more complete than in 1817. No contrast can be stronger than what is now presented. The natives are probably at this moment happier and more contented than they will be hereafter; the recollection of the dangers and miseries they have endured, increases their enjoyment of present security and good government. A few districts of Sindia's, where misrule still prevails, are exceptions; but, take it all in all, there never was a country where the industrious classes of the population were better pleased with their condition than they now are; nor is this feeling much checked by the moody turbulence of the military classes, who have been deprived of their occupation. Almost all those who were actually natives of the country have been in one way or other considered; while a great proportion of the foreign mercenaries (who constituted the chief part of the disbanded armies) have been compelled to leave it;

nor will these, though they have still correspondence and connexions, ever return to disturb its peace, while the measures and principles by which this salutary change has been effected are preserved and supported. It will, however, be necessary, in order to understand this part of the subject, to notice our relations with the princes and chiefs of this country, and to refer to the settlements and agreements which we have made, or to which we are guarantee between them and their tributaries and subjects.

The treaty* which fixed our present relations with Dowlet Row Sindia, was concluded a few days before the British troops entered Central India; but the short period that has since elapsed has produced a very complete change in the substance, though none has been made in the form, of our connexion with that ruler.

Before the battle of Mahidpoor, Appah Gunghadur, the principal manager of Sindia's possessions West of the Chumbul, sent an agent to the British head-quarters, praying protection against the predatory bands of Holkar and the Pindarries. The kindness and attention shewn to him led others to apply, and they were aided in their efforts to preserve and promote the peace of their country, in a degree beyond what the obligations of subsisting treaties demanded. Jawud, which

* Vide Appendix, No. XVI.—A.

had been taken from Jeswunt Row Bhow, after being cleared of the Pindarries, was made over to the direct authority of the Court of Gualior. These conciliatory proceedings gave a degree of popularity to the exercise of the English influence and power, that silenced the jealous fears which our rapid progress had excited. The arrival of Bappoo Sindia*, in 1819, with an army of plunderers to enforce his claims to tribute upon the Rajas of Rutlam and Sillanah, led to the arming of all the Rajpoot chiefs of their family. Both parties solicited our mediation; and through it engagements were concluded, which, while they secured the regular payment of the tribute to Sindia without the expense of collection, expelled his predatory troops from the country, and procured for the British government the gratitude and allegiance of the petty Rajpoot rulers, who were emancipated from a tyranny under which they had suffered for nearly a century. Dowlet Row Sindia offered no objections to those settlements; and considerations of convenience, as well as a desire to promote the continued tranquillity of his country, have since led him to approve of similar engagements with the Rajas of Seonte and Lunawarra, and with the petty Rajas of Seeta Mhow and Amjherra.

* Bappoo Sindia, who is since dead, was one of those generals who have been described in the history of the Sindia family as commanding large and insubordinate armies.

This proceeding amounts to a virtual surrender, on the part of Sindia, of his supremacy over his tributaries West of the Chumbul to the British government, and an abandonment of that right of ruinous interference in the affairs of these petty States, which has been so long cherished by this Mahratta prince as the source of large, though indirect, emoluments to himself and his officers. The chief motive which led to these settlements, was the disturbed condition of the countries at the moment they were made, which caused a despair of realizing even just dues under any other course. Similar considerations, and the local weakness of his administration, have induced Sindia to solicit our mediation with many of his other dependents, and particularly of those Grassiah chiefs who have long plundered his country. An abstract of these settlements will be given: suffice it at present to observe, that they have placed almost all the military classes of the Western and Southern districts of his possessions in Central India under British influence and control, in a manner that would enable it (should measures ever come to such an extreme) to employ them for his destruction. Of this, however, he cannot but be sensible; and the conduct he has pursued in this and other respects must lead to a conclusion that this Prince (whatever may be the views of some of his discontented chiefs and adherents) has personally

taken a decided line, and, having abandoned all idea of ever opposing the English government, is alone anxious to benefit by its friendship. He has, acting on this principle, not only attended to the chief local authority of that state, in the removal and appointment of his officers in Central India, but placed them much under his direction*. This Prince has, in fact, without any formal obligations, subsided into a condition which places him in a state of dependence upon the British nation; and appears at present to look to it alone for relief from his embarrassments, and for that tranquillity which seems to be the principal object of his ambition.

In 1817, the British government stood totally unconnected with the Government of Holkar; but by the treaty of Mundissor (which is annexed†) that Prince became one of its dependent allies. No alliance was ever formed with a Native power, that has in so short a period produced more benefit to both States. The Prince being a minor, facilitated all those economical arrangements necessary to an impoverished country; and the entire support of the British has been given

* I had repeated instances, during my administration of the British interests in Central India, of the facts here stated, and Sindia's principal local officers were placed under me in a manner that proved beyond doubt the disposition of that Sovereign.

† Vide Appendix, No. XVI.-B;—and for Treaty with Ameer Khan, No. XVI.-E.

to a firm and able Dewan, Tantia Jogh, who has, within the period of four years, restored the country to prosperity, and raised the Court from a condition of penury and distress to one of comfort and respectability. The connexion* between this State and the British government has taken the happiest shape; and, while the latter preserves the general peace of the Holkar territories, it neither exercises nor claims a right of interference in their internal administration. The consequence is, that the Native officers feel themselves secure, and are competent to their sovereign functions, nor have the jealousy and uneasiness which belong to their subordinate condition yet appeared. A strong sense of benefit, produced by the change from a state of anarchy and danger to one of quiet and safety, is the prevailing sentiment of all ranks, while those who conduct the administration add a just appreciation of the manner in which they have been treated; and those feelings of alarm, which at first existed from their not comprehending our principles of action, have given place to a confidence, which may be expected to be more lasting, as it has been evidently the result, not of the professions we made, but of the measures we have adopted in the general exercise of our influence and control over this part of India. There was a party at this court whom loss of office had dissatisfied; but this faction has been removed, and we may pronounce

that there is at present an unreserved spirit of cordiality in those who administer its affairs, and that its territories contain a very small portion of men who can be considered discontented with its connexion and dependence upon the British government.

The substance of the treaty formed with Dhar is annexed*. That principality being under a minor prince, the adopted son of Meena Bhye, the widow of the late Raja, has afforded us the same advantages, in carrying into execution economical reforms, as the State of Holkar; nor is the minister Bappoo Raghunauth inferior to Tantia Jogh in zeal, or in a just appreciation of the generous policy of the British government, which has restored the ruined fortunes of the Dhar family, and given them once more a rank and place among the princes of India. Our relations with Dhar are of the same character as those with Holkar; and the alliance has hitherto been alike conducive to order and good government. We have, perhaps, a right to the more unqualified gratitude of this State, for, though Holkar has derived great and substantial benefits from the connexion, he has been deprived of nominal independence and territories; while the Raja of Dhar has had almost the whole of his former estates (many of which he had lost) re-

* Vide Appendix, No. XVI.—F.

stored*, and has been elevated to a condition which he could never have hoped to regain by his own efforts. This observation applies with still more force to the two Rajas of Dewass, who may be said to owe all they possess to those principles of liberal justice and policy, which actuated the British government in the settlement of Central India.

The substance† of the treaty formed with Dewass is annexed. The Rajas early acceded to a request to appoint one minister‡ for the management of their joint interests, and the choice fell on Succaram Bappoo, an active intelligent Brahmin, who has laboured most successfully to restore their country to prosperity, and to improve and confirm their relations with the British government, towards which these chiefs and their subjects have alike feelings of regard and attachment. A late cession was made by them and the

* The districts of Dug and Gungraur, now possessed by the State of Kotah, and those of Tal Mundawul, which form part of the Jaghire of Ghuffoor Khan, formerly belonged to Dhar, but they were alienated by the treaty of Mundissor, and could not be restored; but, except those, it obtained, from its connexion with the British government, all its other possessions, and some claims (particularly the tribute on Ally Mohun) which had lain long dormant.

† Vide Appendix, No. XVI.—G.

‡ This arrangement was fortunately facilitated by the hereditary minister of one of these Rajas being a minor. Succaram, recently dead, is succeeded by his brother.

Prince of Dhar, of a third share of the district of Soondursee, in favour of Wuttul Row Puar, the only chief of this respectable family that was unprovided for; and the relief which this liberal provision gave him, made him as contented as the other branches of his house, with the consideration and justice of the English government, by which this settlement was mediated and guaranteed.

The annexed treaty* with Bhopal will shew the nature of our relations with that State. Nothing can exceed the sentiments of gratitude with which this tribe of Mahomedans regard the restorers of their prosperity and former greatness; but they are a race who have both prejudices and feelings of pride that require attention. There are also some seeds of future discord in the condition of the family; but with care there can be no doubt this alliance will be found efficient to all the objects for which it was formed.

The treaty† with the Raja of Kotah has been hitherto very happy in its operation: our relations with Zalim Singh vest us with the rights of a paramount sovereign, but with no right of interference in the internal administration beyond what is required to maintain the general tranquillity. There is, as in Bhopal, an embarrassment in the obligation, which the policy of the moment ren-

* Vide Appendix, No. XVI.—C.

† Vide Appendix, No. XVI.—D.

dered unavoidable, for supporting the descendants of a regent, whom we found in the actual exercise of power, against any efforts of their nominal rulers to displace them. This, however, is a condition common to many Native States. It arises out of a respect for families, and for the path in which their ancestors have trod, that tempers even usurpation, and makes those, who hesitate at no acts of violence to obtain and preserve their power, leave its name to others, rather than hazard outrage on tribe or national feeling. In such cases, the British government has no option but to support its pledged faith; and the firm and decided manner in which it has attended to the letter and spirit of its engagements during the late agitations at Kotah, will have the best effect both on that State and others in Central India.

The treaties with the Rajas of Pertaubghur, Doongurpoor, and Banswarra, (abstracts of which are annexed*) are all formed on similar principles. They are tributary princes, whom we desire to make popular instruments of rule, and they will, under able and liberal control and direction, attain a state of prosperity to which they have long been strangers. These princes have never been independent; and their condition under their present relations with the British government is so superior to what they or their ancestors have ever

* Vide Appendix, No. XVI.—H. I. K.

known under any of their former lords paramount, that there can be little doubt that while we continue to give that consideration to which their rank entitles them, and to respect the usages of their subjects, we shall preserve their attachment.

An abstract in the Appendix* will shew the extent and character of the engagements into which we have entered with other chiefs and landholders. They are very numerous, and present to the first view a prospect of much future embarrassment. But it will be noticed that the tenor of all our ties is of similar principle, that the obligations are simple and well defined, and that we possess in the impression of our faith, justice, and strength, very powerful means, which, if temperately and firmly exercised, must increase with our increasing duties as lord paramount of Central India.

Among those changes which have been made or commenced, there is no one which is likely to produce more beneficial results than that of making good roads through every part of the country. The settled, and, above all, the commercial inhabitants of the community, become early sensible to the extent of this benefit; but its effects upon other classes are still more important. The few and imperfect roads opened through some parts of the Vindhya range near Mandoo, had more effect than the employment of five thousand

* Vide Appendix, No. XVI.—L. M. N.

men could have had in putting an end to petty harassing warfare; and the good was permanent, for it not only, by opening an easy passage to those fastnesses, struck awe into its wild and lawless inhabitants, but brought them into a familiar and profitable intercourse with other classes; and thus laid the foundation of that complete alteration of habits, on which alone we can rest our hopes of the reformation of such tribes.

It was early determined to mix the name of the British government in no occurrences that took place prior to the treaty of Mundissor; to consider disputes and crimes before that period as associated with bad times, the very recollection of which, with all the injuries and resentments that belonged to them, it was better to banish for ever from the minds of the population of this country. The adoption of this principle saved us from being arbitrators, if not judges, in affairs which could never be satisfactorily adjusted. There were many petty Rajpoot princes and chiefs who had no real claim to the power they enjoyed; several of these, and some of the Mahratta rulers, had villages, lands, and rights, to which they had no title but possession. All power, possessions, and rights, which had been recently usurped, were claimed by others; but the *statu quo* of January 1818 was pleaded in answer to every appeal. It was assumed, and with truth, to be the only ground of proceeding that could give repose; and

though many of those who suffered and were disappointed might challenge its abstract justice, even they were compelled to acquiesce in its expediency and wisdom. A few departures have been made from this general rule, but only where the tranquillity of the country was disturbed, or when both parties have urgently referred to our decision, or our interference was required by the obligation of a former treaty.

The complaints and appeals during the first two years after the establishment of our authority exceeded all belief; but the trifling cases, which were at first so numerous, gradually decreased, as it was perceived that our interference was limited to matters affecting the public peace, and that we were determined not to attend to any thing relative to the internal administration of justice or revenue in the territories of our allies and dependents. But though their grievances could not be remedied, they were patiently heard, and this was of the utmost benefit; for, however disappointed the complainants might be, they were gratified by the consideration with which they were treated, and, having learnt the reasons for their case not being inquired into, they spread a knowledge of the principles upon which the British control was exercised, which had a good effect, both as it made them more satisfied, and as it tended to elevate their princes and chiefs,

who, while they could not but be grateful to a Government which, with the means of depressing, sought to raise them, were kept in salutary check by the knowledge that it must receive a good or bad impression of their administration by the character of the appeals made to its justice and power.

The greatest importance was from the first attached to establishing, upon a footing of familiarity and confidence, a personal intercourse between the petty princes and chiefs of Central India, and the principal British authorities in that country. This was more essential, as it related to those leaders of loose bands of robbers, who had so long ravaged the country and plundered and murdered its inhabitants. The return of order and strength to that community which they had so deeply outraged, was considered as a prelude to their punishment; and their desperate courses were continued from a belief that they could not be pardoned. This impression made it no easy task to convert them to better habits, but all means were used to effect this desirable object. Waste lands were assigned them to cultivate, and employment in local corps, of a character suited to their prejudices, and calculated to give them a taste for the usages of civilized life, was given to their relatives and dependents. They were conciliated by kind treatment, and elevated by

a confidence* that created the fidelity which it anticipated; but as the best means of gradually effecting a permanent reform, the children† of these chiefs were carefully instructed, that they might hereafter become the instruments of improving tribes who follow and obey their hereditary leaders with blind devotion.

The engagements‡ which we have contracted with the princes and chiefs of Central India may be easily defined and strictly observed; but there are other duties, connected generally with them and their subjects, which are of a more delicate nature, and more difficult to be fulfilled. To shape and temper our intercourse so as to preserve and improve those links of society essential to good order, and to conciliate the lower classes, at the same time that we supported the authority

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* The first measure I took for the reform of the Bheels was to raise a small corps commanded by their own chiefs; and before they had been in the service one month I placed them as a guard over treasure, which had a surprising effect, both in raising them in their own minds, and in those of other parts of the community. I found an equally good impression was produced by my taking, for a period, as my constant attendants, some of the most desperate of the plundering chiefs West of the Chumbul.

† Several of these children, including Bheman Singh, the son of Nadir Bheel, and Roshun, the son of the Mekran chief Muzuffer, lived three years at my head-quarters.

‡ An abstract of our engagements with the different Thakoors, Zemindars, &c. is given in Appendix No. XVI.—L. M. N.

of their superiors, were early viewed as objects of great magnitude, but of no easy attainment. The line adopted, however, has hitherto proved successful. Accustomed to military violence, the inhabitants of this country shewed, on our first entering, a feeling of doubt and alarm which was by some mistaken for dislike, if not aversion, to our supremacy; but it was only fear of insult or outrage, and has been removed by the strict orders under which our troops, both stationed and marching, have acted. The prohibitions latterly enforced against pressing men or cattle, and the absence of all that assumption and arrogance which they expected to meet in their conquerors, have given a complete turn to their feelings; and, wherever corps or individuals move, they are received with cordiality, as the friends and protectors of the country. To maintain this impression, it will be necessary, for a long period, to regulate our conduct with great care. The preservation of the peace of the country, as well as its advancement towards prosperity, depends upon our admitting nothing into the manner or substance of our general control which may have a tendency to revive the jealousy or fear which is now at repose. The Natives will long be very tremulously alive to apprehension regarding our ultimate views. It is for this reason essential, that all communication with them should be limited to specially appointed persons. Any acts of public officers,

or of individuals permitted to come into or settle in the province, which conveyed a different opinion of our disinterestedness and high honour, or which made them fear for cherished civil and religious usages, would change their whole sentiments, and suspicion and hatred would take the place of confidence and attachment.

The necessity of diffusing the principles upon which we act, and making ourselves understood by all ranks, was felt from the first; and employment of honourable and intelligent European officers in every part of the country was resorted to, as the only expedient that could meet the object. The result has been fortunate beyond anticipation. These agents, within their respective circles, have not only, by their direct intercourse with all classes, established great influence, but spread a knowledge of our character and intentions, which has increased respect and confidence; and they have in almost all cases succeeded, by the arbitration of differences, and the settlement of local disputes, in preserving the peace of the country without troops. The most exact observance of certain principles is required from these officers, and their line is very carefully and distinctly prescribed. The object has been to escape every interference with the internal administration of the country, beyond what the preservation of the public peace demanded.

In concluding this chapter, it may be asserted that history affords few examples where a change in the political condition of a country has been attended with such an aggregate of increased happiness to its inhabitants, as that which was effected within four years in Central India; and it is pleasing to think, that with the exception of suppressing a few Bheel robbers, peace was restored, and has hitherto been maintained, without one musquet being fired. It was viewed, from the first, as a work which force could never accomplish; and if there is one ground beyond all others on which hopes of continued tranquillity can rest, it is that of its having been established in the manner described.

CHAPTER XVI.

Reflections on the condition of the British power in Central India.—Its future administration.—Courts of Punjayet; how used; plan for their introduction.—Concluding observations.

Reflections on the Condition of the British Power.

IT appears of essential importance that the great change which has taken place in the British Empire in the East should be fully understood. We have been reluctantly compelled, by events far beyond our power to control, to assume the duties of Lord Paramount of that great Continent; and it is now confessed by all, that our dominion can rest upon no secure basis but the general tranquillity of India.

Our present condition is one of apparent repose, but full of danger. With the means we had at our command, the work of force was comparatively easy: the liberality of our Government gave grace to conquest, and men were for the moment satisfied to be at the feet of gene-

rous and humane conquerors. Wearied with a state of continued warfare and anarchy, the loss even of power was hardly regretted: halcyon days were anticipated, and men prostrated themselves in hopes of elevation. All these impressions, made by the combined effects of power, humanity, and fortune, were improved to the utmost by the character of our first measures. The agents of Government were generally individuals who had acquired a name in the scene in which they were employed: they were unfettered by rules, and their acts were adapted to soothe the passions, and accord with the habits and prejudices, of those whom they had to conciliate or to reduce to obedience. But there are many causes which operate to make a period like this, one of short duration; and the change to a colder system of policy, and the introduction of our laws and regulations into countries immediately dependent upon us, naturally excite agitation and alarm. It is the hour in which men awake from a dream. Disgust and discontent succeed to terror and admiration; and the princes, the chiefs, and all who had enjoyed rank or influence, see nothing but a system dooming them to immediate decline and ultimate annihilation.

This view of the subject applies only to the countries under our immediate sway. That government of influence and control which our condition forces us to exercise over many of our

allies and dependents, presents more serious difficulties. These may be mitigated, though they cannot be wholly removed, by our adopting the mean between two extremes, in our conduct towards the Native states which are thus situated. We must alike avoid the minute and vexatious interference, which counteracts the purpose for which we maintain them in existence, by lessening their power, and consequently their utility; and that more baneful course, which, satisfied with their fulfilling the general conditions of their alliance, gives a blind support to their authority, however ruinous its measures to the prosperity of the country and the happiness of its inhabitants. If policy requires that we should govern a considerable part of India through the agency of its Native princes and chiefs, it is our duty to employ all our moral influence and physical power to strengthen, instead of weakening, these royal instruments of government. No speculation of comparative improvement, or better administration, should lead us aside from this path. The general good effected by our strictly following it, must always overbalance any local benefit which could be derived from a temporary deviation. If compelled by circumstances to depart from this course, it is wiser to assume and exercise the immediate sovereignty of the country, than leave to such mock and degraded instruments any means of avenging themselves on a power which has

rendered them the debased tools of its own misgovernment.) Those who are the supporters of a system, that leaves a State, which our overshadowing friendship has shut out from the sunshine of that splendour which once gave lustre almost to its vices, to die by its own hand—to perish, unaided by us, amid the distraction which has been produced by an internal administration consequent to our alliance—can have no rational argument but that the speediest death of such governments is the best, because it brings them soonest to the point at which we can (on grounds that will be admitted as legitimate both in India and England) assume the country, and give it the benefits of our immediate rule. This result, however, is the very evil against which we have to guard.) Increase of territory will, in spite of all our efforts, come too rapidly; but, to be at all safe, the march must be gradual towards a crisis which cannot be contemplated without alarm.

The cause which has compelled, and will continue beyond all others to compel us to increase our dominion, lies deep in the character of our power. (We have, whenever our authority is in question, no retreat. Our situation is unlike that of a national government which is associated in language, prejudices, habits, and religion, with the people it governs. This want of natural root in the soil forces us to adopt a course of action, which a state differently circumstanced might avoid.) The ne-

cessity of not injuring the impression upon which the very foundation of our authority rests, obliges Government to carry through, at all hazards, every dispute and contest with the inhabitants of our own provinces, or those of any State which we protect. The measures of a local officer which occasion this necessity, may be disapproved of; but our name and ascendancy must be supported, and victory must, on any terms, be obtained; for we cannot long exist if our strength be even doubted.

The establishment of the British authority over Central India, though recognized at first by almost all classes as a real blessing, because it relieved them from intolerable evils, begins already to be regarded by the princes, the chiefs, and military portion of the community, with very mixed sentiments; among which, serious apprehensions as to the permanence of their present condition are predominant. Moderate measures, steadily persevered in for a series of years, may give them more confidence; but they can never be expected to rely on our professions, as they will never be brought to comprehend how our situation differs from that of other conquerors; and when an attempt is made to explain to them, that our own interest operates against the farther extension of our immediate rule, they oppose facts adduced from the history of our past progress. Their alarm upon these points is extreme,

and extends to all in authority, from the first Princes in the country to the Potails of villages. This feeling gives a strength to the designing, which requires incessant vigilance to counteract; and its worst effect is, that it exposes those who act under its influence to the continual danger of becoming, through ignorance and despair, the disturbers of that peace, which better knowledge would teach them it was their interest to defend and preserve.

It may be farther assumed as a fact, that though the Native princes and chiefs of Central India were at first stunned by our rapid and extraordinary success, which laid all prostrate before our power, prosperity has already begun to generate a spirit of jealousy, which has appeared in one or two instances, and which must be expected to increase. It is not in nature that, under such circumstances, persons in the exercise of high authority should continue to cherish sentiments of real gratitude. These are incompatible with their condition, for they imply an inferiority and dependence, which none who are accustomed to command like to acknowledge even to their own minds. This sentiment, therefore, cannot be confided in as a lasting motive of action.

In addition to these facts, we must advert to the state of the predatory and military tribes of Central India, whose numbers have been pre-

viously noticed in this work. Besides these, there are many who, though at present mixed with the other classes of the community, will for a long period retain a predilection towards their former habits, and be prompt to aid any cause which promises the renewal of those scenes of plunder to which they still look back with regret. To these we may add the foreign military adventurers who were in the service of the princes and chiefs of Central India; whence, in consequence of our first success, they have been expelled. These may have retired for a short time to their homes; but it is to be presumed that a great proportion will not change their habits, and will readily resort, on the most distant prospect of obtaining employment, to a country where they retain many attachments, and with individuals of which they still maintain a correspondence. We may also expect that the rapid improvement of this fine country will stimulate into action some of that restless spirit which has been repressed, but not destroyed; for increased cultivation and improving trade must soon present objects of plunder which had ceased to exist.

Taking the above facts into consideration, we must conclude that nothing but wise and vigilant measures on our part can preserve peace in Central India. Every exertion should therefore be made to calm and tranquillize the minds of its numerous princes and chiefs; an uniform system

of easy comprehension should be adopted, calculated to give confidence to the well-disposed portion of the community, and to overawe the disaffected and turbulent. But before any opinions are offered, as to the prospective conduct of our administration; a short notice is required of the leading principles by which our measures should be regulated.

From the numerous Native governments in Central India, and the variety of our relations with its princes and chiefs, it appears indispensable that the person to whom its administration is confided should have the highest powers. Those exercised by the officer first placed in charge of this country were extensive, but undefined: greater were conferred on his successor; but still more is required before this government of direction and control can be rendered adequate to its difficult duties.

There is, in the actual state of our Indian empire, a positive necessity for providing for the continued peace and prosperity of countries which, like Central India, are remote from the seat of the Supreme Government, by constituting a local administration with adequate authority over all who are within its circle. The beneficial effects of such a measure would be felt at every period, but especially in times of emergency. Whatever be the zeal and talent of the agents employed, the whole must be weak, when power in a distant

quarter is parcelled out amongst a number, and the hour of danger is always an unhappy one for a change of system.

Administration of the British Power.

These truths are generally admitted; but many causes combine to delay the formation of a system which promises such benefits. It is, however, important to remark, that this delay prevents the true character and intentions of our Government being understood, which is the point, above all others, on which our success in promoting the general prosperity chiefly depends. This desirable end can never be attained, till we speak, by our actions, the same language to all ranks;—till princes trembling for their sovereignty, chiefs doubtful of continued independence, and all who dread farther encroachment, have their minds tranquillized by the steady contemplation of an uniform and consistent system of rule, instead of being disturbed and distracted, as they must be, by arrangements differing in form, if not in substance, in almost every province. These systems may be each good in the abstract; but the general effect must be bad, because they vary. Their variance is the evil; for that which may inspire confidence in one quarter, shakes it in another. Men in the situation of the inhabitants of these half-subdued countries, listen to every tale, and exaggerate every rumour, which agitates their fears, or excites their hopes. This renders them, unless great care be taken,

prone to become the dupes of the designing and turbulent; and nothing but an improvement in the mode of governing such countries can prevent the confusion and distraction which will compel our farther interference, and hasten the destruction of all that yet remains of native sovereignty on the continent of India.

The results which have been stated can alone be avoided by vesting a public officer with such rank and power as shall enable him (under the direction of the Supreme Government) to keep the whole machine in order. To allow changes in system to flow spontaneously and gradually from changing circumstances—to proceed with calmness and patience in the reform of abuses—to view the habits of ignorance and error with indulgence—and to exercise a control which is most efficient when it is least seen, and which in its operation makes princes and chiefs regard with reverence and attachment a power that elevates when it has ample means of depressing, and which is so constituted, that it can only be conciliated by their good, or offended by their evil actions:—these objects may be attained through the operation of one authority; but they cannot through a multiplicity of agents.

A question has been raised by some, who acknowledge the expediency of one head for the regulation of great provinces in the condition above described, as to the possibility of finding

a succession of persons qualified to fill such important stations; but that objection is unjust to the high talent which must always be at the command of the Supreme Government of India. If adequate rewards are presented to ambition, competency will soon be attained by numbers. Besides, it is only for the first few years that the task would be arduous: much of the duty would soon become mere routine, and the efficient support such an authority would derive from its well-constituted dependent branches, must soon spread a knowledge of its principles that would gradually render its functions comparatively easy. Nothing could exceed the facility with which such an administration, as has been described, could be directed and controlled by the Supreme Government. It must always be consistent with itself; and where it deviated, the causes and reasons must be laid down with reference to its general as well as local measures. How different the exertion of control over it from that exercised over a number of agents independent of each other! But events have satisfied Government of the impolicy of subdivision of power in remote quarters of India. From the steps which have been already taken, we may affirm that an alteration of this part of the system is actually in progress; and it may also be affirmed, that its early completion will not only be expedient, but indispensable to the preservation of tranquillity, for by it alone can we

keep alive the Native governments, and with them many classes of the community which cannot be suddenly broken up or changed without serious injury to our interests.

The policy of every nation must vary with its condition, and that will ever be affected by circumstances far beyond human wisdom to control; for it depends less on its own measures than on those of contiguous States, whose actions must continually force it out of any exact line it may have prescribed for its own observation. Never was this truth more exemplified than in the history of British India. But this fact applies to external policy, not to internal regulation; the general principles of the latter should be fixed, but in a manner adapted to the actual condition and probable fluctuations in the numerous states and communities which have been placed under our control or immediate government. We are arrived at a point where this question can be judged without reference to many considerations which interfered with former plans. We are so far the undisputed masters of India, that we may pursue our own course in such arrangements with a certainty that no events will materially disturb them. The limits of our power, over countries where it has been recently introduced, are likely to be extended, but cannot be contracted; and the authority constituted to govern such countries should, for this reason, have delegated powers

above, rather than below its general duties, that it may be prepared for every probable change of circumstances, and be enabled to give to the whole mass as much consistence as the heterogeneous materials of which it is composed are capable of receiving.

Among the objections urged against this arrangement, it has been argued that we should wait events, allow matters to settle, and that if such a plan became absolutely necessary, it would force itself on our adoption, and it would be easier, under these circumstances, to reconcile it to many, particularly the controlling authorities in England. The latter are very properly jealous of every departure from usage, either in the mode or substance of the administration of our dominions in India, and entertain a salutary prejudice against every alteration which can be avoided. But events have operated a great change in their views of the condition of the British Empire in India; and the more they consider the present question, the more they will find that what has been suggested does not go merely to convey unity and efficiency to our power, but is founded on principles which must, as they spread, gradually simplify and render more popular, as well as more economical, our future administration, and furnish an example which may hereafter be beneficial far beyond the territories over which this species of delegated rule is first established.

If this plan is adopted for the government of Central India, the person at its head should be designated Lieutenant-Governor. It may be said that the officer now in charge of that country has all the requisite powers, and that the name under which he exercises them is immaterial; but this is not the fact. The official designation of the person who is placed at the head has much importance in many ways. It would elevate all associated with him, particularly those high officers in the political department, who have been placed under his orders. It would give a character of permanency to the administration that would add to its strength and reputation, while it terminated those fears and apprehensions of changes, which alarm, beyond all other causes, the minds of large communities; but, perhaps, its best action would be the consideration it gave to the individual in the opinion of the Natives. This part of the subject merits more attention from the rank and character of many of those who would be subject to his direction or control. We cannot reduce them to the simplicity of our feelings on such points; and as they are doomed to submit to our power, we should not deny to their prejudices or their pride any gratification we can safely afford. There can be no doubt that a sense of subjection is ever mitigated by a contemplation of the rank and high name of the person by whom power is exercised. This peculiarly applies to India, and

constitutes, in the present case, a solid reason for the public officer nominated to this great charge having the title proposed; but this neither can nor ought to have any effect on his salary or establishment. The former will, by whatever name he is designated, be in proportion to his labour and official responsibility; the latter to the extent of his duties.

The points next to be considered are the formation of the establishment which is to aid the Lieutenant-Governor in the performance of his important duties, and the outline of the system of administration which is to be introduced into the countries under his management. The present occasion might afford an opportunity of correcting those errors into which we have formerly fallen. This is not the place to comment upon such errors; suffice it to say, that when we contemplate the origin of our power, its extraordinary progress, the abuses that existed, and the difficulties those individuals had to encounter whose task was to provide remedies, we shall find much more cause to applaud than to censure, in the measures they have from time to time adopted. But we should be governed by the principle which directed them, of seeking a gradual amelioration of our system; and if our information is infinitely more extended, if events have altogether changed our relative condition, we should not reject the lessons of experience, and continue so far bound in the tram-

mels of our own acts, as to refrain from adopting plans suited to the circumstances in which we are placed, merely because they do not correspond with what has been already established.

If a Lieutenant-Governor is appointed, an arrangement should be made to provide for the performance of his duties in the event of his absence, illness, or death. The person named for this provisional succession might either be some specific political resident, or agent, acting under his orders, or a member of his establishment; but it would be indispensable to have upon the latter an officer of standing and character in the political department, not only to give a general aid to the principal, but to superintend the settlements, cases of arbitration, and proceedings of Punjayets, which may be submitted for decision or confirmation. An officer would be also necessary, whose sole duty should be the charge of the public receipts and disbursements; which are very considerable, and require a more minute and undivided attention than the person at the head of the administration could give to this department.

Independent of these experienced officers, the person placed at the head of affairs in Central India would require the aid of many assistants; but it is with the principles, not the detail of this arrangement, that we are concerned.

Such a frame of administration, as has been described, so far from incurring additional expense,

might be expected at an early period to produce a great saving, for it would be found capable of any extension of duties, and, above all, it would rear men with habits and principles adapted to the work they had to perform, and to those important charges to which in all probability they would ultimately be called. Even the best and ablest men will receive a bias from forms which have occupied the greater part of their lives; and the present condition of our empire in India requires, both in the civil administration which we have introduced into many recently subdued countries, and in the exercise of political control and superintendence over Native States, a school (if the term may be used) distinct from other branches of the service. If such is not formed, we shall be liable to failure from other causes than the mere intrinsic defects of the system itself.

Supposing a local government established over Central India every way efficient for its permanent administration, the manner in which it should exercise its functions ought (as far as general principles are concerned) to be settled. The first question would be, the mode in which it should administer justice, both in cases occurring in its own territories and in those referred to its arbitration and decision by dependent States. It will, however, before we treat this part of the subject, be useful to offer some general observations that

have particular application to countries in the situation of Central India.

The most serious part of this question, and one which lies at the very threshold, is, whether we are, in the shape and substance of our administration of justice, to pay most attention (both must have consideration) to our own rules, principles, and prejudices, or to those of the nation, or rather nations, we have to govern? We may lay it down as a first principle, that no system can be good that is not thoroughly understood and appreciated by those for whose benefit it is intended. The minds of men can never be tranquillized, much less attached, until they are at repose regarding the intentions of the authority under which they live, which they never can be till all classes see and comprehend its principles of government. If our system is in advance of the community, if it is founded on principles they do not comprehend, and has forms and usages adverse to their habits and feelings, we shall experience no adequate return of confidence and allegiance. To secure these results, we must associate ourselves with our subjects. We could never have conquered India without the assistance of the Natives of that country, and by them alone can we preserve it. Our actual condition makes this necessity more imperative. We are not called upon to lower ourselves to their standard, but we must descend

so far from the real or supposed eminence on which we stand, as to induce them to accompany us in the work of improvement. Great and beneficial alterations in society, to be complete, must be produced within the society itself; they cannot be the mere fabrication of its superiors, or of a few who deem themselves enlightened. Every chord of the instrument must be in tune, or there will be no good harmony. This compels men, who desire real reforms in large communities, to dread what is often termed reason, because the majority whom it is desired to benefit are not rational, in the abstract and refined acceptation of the word, and because no projected benefit can be operative till it is understood and recognized as such by those for whose good it is intended. This reasoning applies to all the legislative measures that we have adopted, or may hereafter adopt, in our Eastern Empire; but it is meant in this place to limit the deductions from it to those which appear expedient for Central India. The great majority of the inhabitants of that country are Hindus:—to introduce, therefore, a jurisdiction grounded, even in its forms, on the imperfect code of the Mahomedans, who do not bear a proportion* to the whole population of five

* The proportion of the Mahomedans to the Hindus in Central India has been computed as one to twenty-one and a half. Vide p. 225. It is still less in the neighbouring country of Rajpootana.

to the hundred, would be an innovation almost as great as the introduction of the English law, and one, from causes which have already been stated, much more repugnant to the feelings of the inhabitants. If we desire to conciliate the latter, or to benefit by their aid, we must adopt a system that is familiar and intelligible to them; and, as the groundwork of that, we must preserve and restore the courts of Punjayet. But before a specific plan is suggested for this purpose, it will be necessary to offer some observations on the character of these courts as now existing, and the modifications which it would appear indispensable to make in their shape and proceedings, before they could be grafted on our Government.

Courts of Punjayet.

Punjayets, though common in all parts of Central India, have differed in their form in every province. In some large cities, men whom the voice of the people had raised into consequence, as their defenders against misrule, were the Mokhs, or presidents, and the leading members of the Punjayet court of associated judges. The numbers were increased as circumstances demanded, but they were always certain men from whom this duty was expected; who devoted themselves to it, and who looked to a reward in an augmentation of personal influence and reputation. This they frequently gained, and the applause and attachment of their fellow-citizens were always greatest when they were successful aids to good rule, or

courageous opponents of bad. Their power of being the latter was very considerable. A recent instance occurred of a respected president of a Punjayet, determining, from his sense of an unjust measure, to leave a town*; and between two and three hundred of its wealthiest citizens so decidedly followed his example, that oppression was stopped in its career, and compelled to conciliate, by concession, an offended judge. In small towns and villages, the Punjayet is composed of men of certain offices, classes, and character. These courts, however, can never become an efficient part of the British jurisprudence without a considerable change in their constitution, forms, and proceedings. The reasons are obvious; the same classes of men do not fill the same places in society, under our government, as they did under a Native prince; nor are men actuated by similar motives. Our administration, though just, is cold and rigid. If it creates no alarm, it inspires little, if any, emulation. The people are protected, but not animated or attached. It is rare that any native of India living under it can suffer injury or wrong; but still more rare that he can be encouraged or elevated by favour or distinction. Our rules and regulations constitute a despotic power, which is alike imperative upon the governors and the governed. Its character

* Rutlam.

compels it to generalize, and its forms, as well as principles, are unyielding. To engraft upon this system an institution such as the Punjayet is no easy task; but if satisfied of its excellence, we should not be deterred from its introduction by any difficulties of our own creation.

In discussing what there is in the substance and in the forms of the court of Punjayet, as it has hitherto existed, requiring revisal or modification, it will be necessary to determine, First, The different kinds of Punjayet to be permitted or instituted. Secondly, The composition of each kind of Punjayet with regard to members and proceedings: and lastly, The degree of interference necessary on the part of Government, to render the system efficient, particularly in such essential points as the attendance of members and witnesses, and the prompt execution of awards and decrees.

There should be three descriptions of Punjayets, each of which is accordant with the usages of Hindu government: a Punjayet for arbitrating disputes; a Punjayet for civil causes; and a Punjayet upon criminal cases. The first, a Punjayet of arbitration, to which the parties voluntarily resort, choosing each two members, and calling (if they cannot agree to nominate one themselves) upon the local government to name a fifth as umpire. This court should be left as free from control as possible; and unless an um-

pire be applied for, and its sittings, names of members, and proceedings regularly registered, Government should not interfere to enforce attendance of members or witnesses. In any case, however, where its forms were according to established usage, assistance should be given to enforce its decree; otherwise this most desirable of all modes of settling disputes would be inefficient and inconclusive.

The second kind of Punjayet, for the settlement of civil causes, is the most important, and one in the formation and proceedings of which we have to encounter all the difficulties of the subject. But if we concede to the usages and feelings of our Native subjects so far as to institute Punjayets, we must go farther, and give them such a varying form in different provinces, in principal towns, in districts and villages, as shall be adapted to the character of these courts, to the nature of the people for whose benefit they are intended, and to the circumstances of the Government under which they are established.

In many of the cities in Central India, though all men of character are eligible to sit upon a Punjayet, the Punj, or usual members, and their Mokhs, or presidents, are a recognized and distinguished class of citizens. They have motives for seeking this duty that cannot operate under our Government; and it may perhaps be added, that they are loose and dilatory in its perform-

ance, in a degree beyond what we could tolerate. We should also have to overcome a difficulty unknown to Native states, in compelling the attendance of members.

Under a Native prince, however just and indulgent, there is still sufficient awe of the chief authority to prevent an individual hazarding displeasure, by evading a duty which he knows the ruler desires him to perform. There must also be a strong incitement to flatter such a ruler, by a display of promptitude to anticipate his wishes, as well as to obey his commands. If the Prince is of a different character, and the members of the Punjayet constitute a check on misrule, they can only exist by the favour of the people to whom they will devote themselves. Under every circumstance, zeal and activity are certain.

It is far different with the British government, which, proceeding upon a defined general system, rejects every thing personal. There is neither a ruler to dread, nor a people to please. We must, therefore, make the duty of administering justice in civil causes to their countrymen obligatory upon certain classes of the community. There might be a register kept, in every large town, of men who, from birth, knowledge, or wealth, were deemed qualified to sit upon a Punjayet for civil causes. This register should include leading men of every religion, caste, and occupation, that we might secure the cause being tried by a Punjayet selected ac-

cording to the usages and prejudices of the parties concerned. The Mokh, or president, might either be selected by the members of the Punjayet, or nominated by the local government. Perhaps the same person who filled this office might be entrusted with the duties of Sudder Ameen or Monsiff: if so, he might, as under the Madras system, have jurisdiction to a limited extent; but be obliged, when causes exceeded a small amount, to call in assessors. If parties were not disposed to adjust their disputes by arbitration, they should cease to have a choice as to the mode of settlement. That should be determined by the character of the cause, not the will of either plaintiff or defendant. This is quite indispensable. We may, in forming an institution, have regard and respect for the opinions and prejudices of those for whose benefit it is intended; but to render it operative after it is constituted, the extent of its jurisdiction must be defined, its cognizance of specified causes made absolute, and its decrees supported.

The plaintiff who brought his cause before the Punjayet should be bound to prosecute under a penalty, and the defendant be compelled to answer. A right of exception to any of the associated judges, not the Mokh, should be recognized on the part of either party; but such could not be admitted unless supported on reasonable grounds.

The same principles which apply to towns, might be extended to the district and village Punjayets, whose proceedings would be more simple, as the causes would, in general, be less complicated. There are, however, three descriptions of disputes to which such communities are particularly liable, which would demand much time and attention.

First, Those between bankers and cultivators, respecting advances and loans.

Secondly, Disputes between members of the same family, regarding their respective claims to the whole or a proportion of the lands and dues belonging to the family, as hereditary district or village officers: and

Thirdly, Land and boundary disputes, between villages or individual landholders.

The first and second of these would require Punjayets constituted upon principles having local reference, both as to the members and place of sitting. The disputes of the third class, which are of much importance, as connected with the temper of the landholders and the peasantry, will be found in all our lately acquired countries to be very complicated, owing to previous bad government, and the numerous fluctuations that have occurred both in the governors and the governed. They can alone be satisfactorily adjusted by Punjayets composed of men acquainted

with general and local usages, and previously informed of the leading circumstances.

The Punjayets, upon criminal cases, are, as has been before stated*, called, when a murder or any capital crime is committed at a distance from the ruling authority, to aid in the investigation; and their opinion upon the guilt or innocence of the accused is transmitted to the Prince, who frequently sends, upon receiving it, his orders for the release or execution of the prisoner. If the crime is committed at the capital, the ruler, if just and moderate, refers the case for examination to a Punjayet. These courts differ from others in some essential points. The local manager or collector usually presides, while the members are generally all provincial or district officers. The prisoner is, however, patiently heard, and he is allowed the aid of any of his family or caste. Indeed the principal persons of the latter always attend, as it is deemed as much a part of their duty to give assistance to the State in punishing delinquents, as it is to protect individuals of their tribe from unjust accusation or oppression.

The condition of Central India, and the mixed administration of immediate rule and general control over dependent States, afforded a good opportunity for judging how far Punjayets could be employed in that difficult system of govern-

* Vide vol. i. p. 557.

ment. The result of the experiment was satisfactory. When any of the subjects of the princes and chiefs under British protection had disputes regarding land or property demanding our mediation, the aid of a Punjayet was invariably resorted to, and its opinion made the guide for a decision. The knowledge and discrimination which some of the members displayed on the trial, and the distinctness of the grounds upon which the court made up its judgment, were surprising. There was in no instance any cause to suspect these courts of partiality, much less of corruption. Smaller and less regular courts were formed to investigate complaints and common causes that occurred almost daily; and the members were often chosen from among the numerous Vakeels, or agents, from chiefs and princes, who were always in attendance at head-quarters, and who did the work decidedly better than any English officers could, from their better understanding of the degree of weight to be given to the motives, feelings, and circumstances of the different parties and evidences who came before them. When the proceedings of a Punjayet were completed, and they had concurred in their judgment, a short abstract report was formed; and though the nature of many of the cases led to the most laborious and minute reexamination of facts, no instance occurred in which it was necessary to reverse the original decree. A very remarkable proof was

obtained from the employment of these courts for upwards of three years, of the degree in which they are understood. Every Native of the least intelligence was found well acquainted with their forms, and perfectly qualified to act as a member of them.

In the British camps, disputes regarding property that occurred between our public followers and the Natives of the country, were investigated by Punjayets, and with apparent satisfaction to the parties concerned. In those districts of Central India which were under our immediate management, Punjayets were the only courts by which civil causes were tried: there was no case of appeal from their decision which did not, on revisal, do credit to them.

Many complaints brought before the local officers were withdrawn, when submitted to a Punjayet. This happened when the complainant knew himself unable to substantiate the charges; and men who had advanced false claims or accusations continually came forward, after the Punjayet had assembled, and sometimes when its proceedings were advanced, with a written acquittal* of those they had desired to injure, which, where the case was not criminal, was always deemed sufficient. The frequent occurrence of the latter

* This acquittal is stiled Razeenama; literally, "a deed of consent or acquiescence."

instances was considered as a proof that Native Punjayet courts must, from their constitution, prevent litigation, as they offer, to him who is conscious of wrong, none of those hopes of escape which present themselves under a system where the forms are more unbending, where pleaders have more art, and the judges (however superior in principle and general ability) have a less minute knowledge of the cunning, the shifts, and evasions of those brought before them.

It may be objected to these facts, that though the common courts of Punjayet were found to answer at a period when the impression of the British name caused all who were employed or called upon, to dread giving offence and to desire favour, yet such motives could not be expected to influence men in ordinary times. This is in part true, and a considerable change in the administration of justice must be introduced. The officer to whose direction Central India was first intrusted, had prepared a plan*, which, had circumstances suited, he meant to have recommended for adoption throughout all the countries of which he had charge. The object of his ambition would have been to lay the foundation of a system which might slowly and gradually take the shape desired. His labour would not have been directed to the formation of a new, but to the

* The substance of this plan will be found in the Appendix, No. XVII.

preservation, and adaptation to our uses, of an old and venerated institution, and no change, even in forms, would have been made beyond what was indispensable. The author of this plan would have proceeded with that fear and caution which were incumbent upon the man who ventured upon such a task. His leading object would have been to carry the community along with him, and, above all, to be fully understood by them; so that, even when there was partial failure, they must view it more as the result of the imperfection of their own institutions, and the want of virtue and knowledge of the principal men of their own tribes, than as caused by the ignorance, presumption, or rash innovations of their European superiors. Such impressions would have been useful, both as they excited a spirit of amendment, and as they confirmed allegiance.

Many arguments will be urged against the establishment of Punjayet courts for the decision of civil causes. These courts, it will be observed, when we give them a new character by the mode of nominating and recompensing the presidents and members, and by compelling men to submit to them, will be deemed a complete innovation on the usages of the Natives, who have never recognized them under this form. These objections, however, are more specious than solid, and certainly do not apply to the countries of which we are now treating.

In many towns of Central India (as has been before stated) the presidents and members were specific persons; and in all places, those who were eligible to such duties, when occasion called, were well known; and upon such persons the will of the Prince and his principal officers was imperative. Under our administration, rules and regulations have succeeded to the arbitrary power of individuals. It is an admitted general truth that there are, in all communities, certain duties which are obligatory upon men who hold high rank and place; and which they must either perform, or abandon their post. We assuredly have a right to require that aid from the heads and principal members of the society, which it was their former usage to give to Native governments; and there can be no doubt that, from ceasing to exercise this right, we have unintentionally contributed to the lowering, in the estimation of their countrymen, persons whom it was our true policy to elevate and support. Our conduct, in this particular, has originated in feelings and principles more suited to the structure of an European than to that of an Indian community.

The necessity for pay to the members of Punjayets (at least during the period of their employment) must depend upon the shape we give these Courts; but they can hardly be assimilated to our system, without requiring stricter execution of their duties than was formerly exacted. This will

bring an increased demand upon the time of those of whom they are composed, who will therefore become entitled to some remuneration. Our Government cannot give that in the manner it was given formerly by Native princes, whose slightest acts of notice and consideration of men who aided them in their administration, elevated the individuals in their own consideration and that of the community. Such favour also gave them advantages which it does not belong to our system either to grant or permit. We have, in fact, no means of reward, but salary, pension, or assignments of land; and where encouragement of some kind is confessedly wanting, we must be content to give it in the manner suited to the character of our Government.

The exercise of an option in the disputing parties cannot be expected, under our Government, to correspond exactly with the apparent forms of past usage, without an immediate rejection of these Courts for the trial of civil causes. Under a Native prince, when complaints were made, or accusations brought forward, and he, instead of a despotic award, directed, in a spirit of justice or moderation, that a Punjayet should assemble to investigate them, can any man acquainted with the principles upon which such States acted, and the feelings of those subject to their authority, believe that the defendant or complainant (though each had a privilege of fair challenge) deemed himself

at liberty, whatever nominal forms might exist, to refuse to submit his case to the tribunal ordered to investigate it? He could not but know that such conduct would be deemed contumacy, and subject him to all the hazard of a summary and violent proceeding. Under the British government, men would have no such apprehension; and it would not be in one case out of a hundred that the two parties would assent. Both the plaintiff and defendant would calculate whether they had the best chance of gaining their suit by applying to a Punjayet or to the Adawlut; and whenever they did not agree, the latter Court, in which the forms are compulsory, would be that in which the case would be at last tried. But this result must not be brought forward as a decided proof of its superior popularity. Before such a fact can be admitted, it must be established whether the preference to it is given by the honest men or the rogues. Some may be encouraged to prefer the Adawlut by artful Vakeels*, who have a personal interest to promote; and many may expect to escape from it, that would dread the better and more minute local knowledge of the Punjayet. But enough has been said on this part of the subject to establish, that Punjayets can never be effective as Courts for civil cases until, under some system or other, the trials before them shall

* Native lawyers.

be obligatory upon the parties. The mode of making them so should be, by substituting (as before stated) the rule for the despot, in the manner the least offensive to former usage.

Concluding Observations.

The success of our administration of Central India, and of countries similarly situated, depends as much, if not more, upon the mode of execution, than on the intrinsic merit of our measures and institutions. It is upon the tone of those we employ—European and Native—and upon the character of the intercourse we maintain with the rulers and people, that their tranquillity and prosperity will chiefly depend. This subject received the fullest attention of the author of these volumes; and his instructions to his assistants, as given in the Appendix*, were written under a conviction, that there is more to fear from a redundant zeal and activity, than from either apathy or indolence. The prostration of all ranks to our power is at this moment so complete, that the temptations to reform abuses, and to introduce speculative improvement, are almost irresistible to those whose warm and generous impulses are not corrected and restrained by the severe but salutary lessons of experience. Men placed in such scenes are slow to believe that almost every measure tending to produce sudden change, however good it may appear in the abstract, is at-

* Vide Appendix, No. XVIII.

tended with evil consequences, and that it belongs not to human wisdom subsequently to regulate the impetus of that action which has been precipitately and unseasonably excited in large communities. These observations acquire great importance in their application to our Eastern Empire, the population of which comprises all classes, from the most intelligent to the most ignorant, from the most courageous to the most timid; and though these are divided by their separation into tribes and castes, as well as by their various dispositions, pursuits, and qualities, there are some general sympathies associated with their prejudices and religion, which give them a disposition to unite; and of such feelings, the more instructed part of the society know how to take full advantage whenever it suits their purpose. The Mahomedan priests, the Brahmins, and other civil classes, have for ages been the nominal servants, but real masters of the turbulent and bold, but ignorant and superstitious, military races of their countrymen. Their knowledge how to use this dangerous influence has been rendered complete by frequent exercise; and when we consider what they have lost by the introduction and extension of our dominion, it would be folly to expect exemption from their efforts to subvert it. Their success will depend on the means we place within their reach.

We are and must remain, from the construction of the society, completely separated from the Na-

tives of India, and we can only defend ourselves against attack by preventive measures, and by keeping weapons from the hands of those who are likely to become our enemies. Our condition does not merely limit the attainment of that knowledge which appears necessary for our safety, but it compels us, after we have attained it, to be most cautious in its application. Our suspicion of danger may be confirmed by signs of its approach, but we must not even then make open preparations against it; for, if we ever appear to doubt our own strength, it will be doubted by others; and it is of a character that cannot long survive the general impression of its durability.

Placed under such extraordinary circumstances, it is our duty to take a calm view of the means we possess, to aid us in proceeding towards the great object of ameliorating the condition, and promoting the happiness, of those whose future destiny will much depend upon our integrity and wisdom. We must, in our efforts to perform this duty, be more indebted to experience than zeal. We should look at the errors and revolting usages of parts of these great communities with indulgence and compassion; and, unfettered by that prejudice and self-pride of which we accuse them, we should give to some of their qualities, habits, and institutions, that admiration which they merit. This view of the subject will be attained in sincerity, as we advance in our knowledge of this

various and extraordinary people; and when we act under its dictates, we shall find that men who are not irritated into opposition by a contrary course, will, insensibly to themselves, yield their minds to our purpose. Such of their usages and superstitions as have no foundation but ignorance, must give way; and they will be prepared to receive, as a blessing, what they will, if it is too hastily obtruded, be brought, by the designing, to consider as meant for their degradation and ruin. But to proceed with safety in the work of reformation, we must be content to give the impulse and direction to nations; that they, influenced by our measures and example, may improve themselves; and to effect this great and good purpose, we must not reject as auxiliaries their habits and prejudices. Let us introduce knowledge by means which do not counteract the object by the alarm they excite. The schools, for instance, of every village in the country present this mode; and assuredly encouragement to them would be the best means of commencing, if not completing, this purpose. Public officers might be instructed to give to these seminaries their protection and favour; and means should be afforded them of exciting and rewarding talent. This plan may be condemned by many as too slow in its operation, but that is its best recommendation; for it would take away from the mode of instruction much of that suspicion and danger which attend it when

presented in a form that in any way threatens cherished usages and superstitions.

Numerous schools for Natives have already been established, by missionaries and others, at or near the Presidencies, and in many of the principal towns and provinces long under the British government, and no mischief may have resulted from them. There is, however, great difference of character in the population of India; and measures adopted or countenanced by the British government which would pass unnoticed in one quarter, would occasion the greatest alarm in another. Nothing could be more dangerous at the present moment than the extension of this plan of education into countries just emerging from anarchy; and the bad impression made upon ignorant and agitated minds by the misrepresentations of our intentions in such a measure, would far exceed any good that could be effected by its establishment. These sentiments led to the rejection of a proposition * made by pious and excellent men for its immediate introduction over our late conquests; and the same caution led to very strict rules being laid down to prevent any European merchants or adventurers settling

* A proposition for introducing schools was made to the Hon. Mr. Elphinston, when Commissioner of the Poona territories, as well as to me when in charge of Central India. An answer grounded on the reasons that have been stated was given by both for rejecting its adoption.

in Central India, or having any money-concerns with its inhabitants. A period must elapse before such intercourse can be safe. The people of this country, till better informed of the nature and construction of our society, cannot separate the acts of individual Englishmen from those of the Government; and it was thought that the maintenance of tranquillity was too vitally important, to incur the hazard, that those who were intrusted with its accomplishment, should have their labours frustrated by the premature and interested speculations of men subject to little restraint, and who, warm in the pursuit of their own objects, could ill appreciate the mischief that might be done in too hasty strides for their attainment.

Many of the sentiments which have been stated in this work, and particularly in the last chapter, may be questioned by those who have not yet learnt the wide distinction that exists between the British and Indian governments. It is quite impossible to impart the rights and the privileges of the one to the other without an entire change in its condition. That it is our duty to diffuse knowledge and truth, none will deny; but it is also our most imperative duty to exercise our best judgment as to the mode in which these blessings shall be diffused, so as to render them beneficial. Nor must we be diverted for one moment from our object by the clamour of those who, from only half understanding this

great subject, seek to interest popular opinion and national pride and prejudices on the side of systems of speculative reform and rash innovations, as crude as they are dangerous. The relation of the Natives of India to the English is that of a conquered people to its conquerors. Since we obtained sovereignty over them, we have greatly ameliorated their condition, and all rational means have been employed to promote their happiness, and to secure to them the benefits of good government. By premature efforts to accelerate the progress of the blessings it is our hope to impart, we shall not only hasten our own downfall, but replunge the Natives of India into a state of greater anarchy and misery than that from which we relieved them. Let us, therefore, calmly proceed in a course of gradual improvement; and when our rule ceases, for cease it must (though probably at a remote period,) as the natural consequence of our success in the diffusion of knowledge, we shall as a nation have the proud boast that we have preferred the civilization to the continued subjection of India. When our power is gone, our name will be revered; for we shall leave a moral monument more noble and imperishable than the hand of man ever constructed.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Statement of the Names and Stations of the Public Officers who aided in collecting and furnishing the facts and materials from which this work was written: with an account of the other sources whence authentic information was obtained.

THE Honourable Mountstuart Elphinston*, when Commissioner for the Paishwah's territories, supplied a number of authentic papers from the Record offices at Poona.

Mr. Jenkins†, the Resident with the Raja of Berar, sent several papers from the records at Nagpoor, and a valuable manuscript on the Gonds.

Mr. Molony‡, Commissioner of Bundelcund and the Valley of the Nerbudda, made several communications relating to the usages of the inhabitants of districts bordering on Central India.

Mr. Gerard Wellesley‡, Resident at Indore, was not only the medium of obtaining authentic communications from the Ministers of Holkar's Court, but gave the author essential aid throughout his labour, in forming the report which is the groundwork of these volumes.

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* Mr. Elphinston, a Civil servant of the Bengal Establishment, is at present Governor of Bombay.

† Bombay Civil Service. ‡ Bengal Civil Service.

Lieutenant-Colonel Agnew*, at present Commissioner in Choteesghur, who in 1817 was one of the author's Assistants, was, on the conclusion of the Peace of Mundissor, deputed to the Court of Holkar, where, when Acting Resident, he supplied a number of useful documents, and his public correspondence during this period contained many facts illustrative of the past and present condition of that Government.

Captain Tod†, Resident with the Western Rajpoot States, made some valuable communications; and many important facts, connected with the past history and present condition of the principal Rajpoot States, were derived from the papers and official correspondence of this officer.

Major Henley†, Political Agent at Bhopal, has contributed a great part of the historical materials, and almost all of the fiscal and statistical information which relates to that principality; and to that officer the author is also indebted for his minute information of the Princes and tribes in the Eastern parts of the province of Malwa.

Captain Josiah Stewart*, Political Agent at Jeypoor, was one of the author's Assistants, when he entered Central India in 1817. In that situation, during the short period he was employed at Bhopal, and the two years that he was Acting Resident at Gualior, he lost no opportunity of supplying the author with authentic materials; and his official correspondence has been very frequently referred to, as containing much valuable matter relative to the actual condition of the Court and territories of Dowlet Row Sindia.

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* Madras Army. † Bengal Army.

Captain John Briggs*, Resident at Sattarah, was one of the author's Assistants. This officer was nominated to the charge of the Holkar territories in Malwa, of which we kept possession till the Peace of Mundissor, when he was appointed Commissioner to the ceded province of Candeish. These various situations gave Captain Briggs an opportunity of collecting a great variety of important facts, all of which, with translations of original documents, were regularly transmitted to the author, who derived farther information from this officer's public correspondence with Government, which is very minute, and abounding with facts illustrative of local usages and character.

Mr. James Williams†, at present Resident at Baroda, accompanied the author during the Pindarry campaign; and not only aided him in his researches during that period, but communicated, since he went to Baroda, much information regarding the Guicowar government, and particularly facts illustrative of its connexion with the principality of Dhar.

Captain John Low*, who accompanied the author, first as his Aide-de-camp, afterwards as an Assistant, and who was subsequently appointed Commissioner with the Ex-Paishwah Bajerow (a station he still holds), has in every situation given all the aid that was in his power to the author, who owes to him the first detailed account of the Sondies, in the reduction of whom Captain Low was employed.

Captain Borthwick*, who succeeded to the superintendence of the country of Sondwarra, and of several Rajpoot principalities, as well as to the general charge

* Madras Army. † Bombay Civil Service.

of the irregular horse of Holkar and Ghuffoor Khan, not only completed the information Captain Low commenced, but furnished the author with a series of minute and authentic facts, connected with local history and usages, particularly of those predatory tribes which infest the community.

Captain Caulfield*, the present Political Agent at Kotah, was with the author during the early part of the Pindarry campaign; he afterwards had charge of Jawud and the countries taken from Jeswunt Row Bhow, whence he proceeded to Pertaubghur, where he remained till nominated to the situation of Assistant at Indore. Throughout four years that he was thus employed in different parts of the country, his attention was continually directed to the object of supplying materials and giving aid to the author, in his labour of investigating every fact connected with the administration of Central India.

Lieutenant Dyson*, who was employed under Captain Caulfield, was the first English officer who went to Doongurpoor: the reports he made of that country, and of Banswarra, gave a promise which was early disappointed by the death of this learned and scientific young man.

To Captain Alexander M'Donald*, who was the author's Assistant, and who was subsequently placed in the superintendence of the principalities of Pertaubghur, Banswarra, and Doongurpoor, he is indebted for general aid throughout the labour of forming the report; and to this officer he exclusively owes the completion of his information regarding those remarkable countries, of which he latterly has had the

* Bengal Army.

charge, as well as for a great variety of other important facts and illustrations given in this memoir.

Captain Robert Spears*, the Superintendent of the petty States of Rath and on the Nerbudda, gave the author, before he was appointed to his present station, most essential aid in his labours, by numerous translations of histories, narratives, and grants. He has subsequently not only given minute accounts of the chiefs and inhabitants of the countries within his circle, but collected many facts to illustrate the religion and usages of the Bheels, several tribes of whom are under his immediate superintendence.

When the town and district of Mundleysir, and the province of Mewar, were first occupied, they were placed under the charge of Lieutenant-Colonel Smith*, whose duties led to a very minute investigation of their actual state, and to the communication of many interesting facts, connected with their condition and mixed population. Much information of the same description was given to the author by Major T. Wilson†, who succeeded Lieutenant-Colonel Smith; and the former officer has added some very useful and scientific observations on the navigation of part of the Nerbudda, as well as on the soil and comparative levels of different parts of the country. The author is also indebted to him, since his return to England, for aid in the correction of the present volumes.

Captain T. D. Stewart†, and Captain H. Alves*, were Acting Assistants to the author, when he completed the public report which constitutes the groundwork of these volumes. These officers were qualified, from their knowledge and previous employment, to give him

* Madras Army. † Bengal Army.

an aid, without which he should, owing to the bad state of his health, have almost despaired of finishing the arduous task he had undertaken; and he owes to their unwearied efforts the being able to compress within a moderate compass, that mass of information it was necessary to arrange and digest, regarding the revenue and population of Central India.

Captain Dangerfield* has been before mentioned, and the report of that officer, which forms the next number in the Appendix, will best exhibit the character of the aid he has afforded. That, however, was not limited to his accurate surveys and to objects of science; he furnished many valuable papers on statistical subjects, particularly regarding the Bheels.

To the persevering ability of Lieutenant Gibbings†, who was Assistant-Quartermaster-general of his division, the author feels indebted for the map, which forms so essential a part of this work. It is formed entirely of original materials, and its construction was consequently a great labour.

Lieutenant Mitchell†, a very intelligent and qualified officer, was employed in aiding Lieutenant Gibbings; and also Lieutenant Matthias†, who, amongst other surveys, completed that of the lower part of the Nerbudda, following the course of that river in every part, where it was possible to remain on its banks, or sail on its stream.

Captain Simes† and Lieutenant Hansard†, two meritorious officers, who had preceded Lieutenant Matthias in this attempt, fell a sacrifice to the insalubrious climate, and the fatigue to which they were exposed, but left useful surveys and observations.

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* Bombay Army. † Madras Army.

Besides the Officers mentioned, several others, among whom were Lieutenants Irvin* and Johnson†, contributed routes and surveys; and to the latter, the author is indebted for statistical information.

Mr. Sundt (a Native born), who was lent to the Geographical Department in Central India from the Revenue Survey at Bombay, to which he belongs, not only drew the original map, to which he contributed several surveys, but has since made a copy with divisions of districts, and has completed a geographical index, containing several thousand names of towns and villages.

Some information regarding the navigation and traffic of the Nerbudda was communicated by Mr. Webb, who is also a Native born, and belongs to the same Survey as Mr. Sundt.—The author has particular pleasure in stating his obligations to these ingenious and scientific persons, with whose labours in the public service he has been intimately acquainted, from the time they left the Survey school at Madras; and he considers their names may be adduced as an example of the utility and importance of giving liberal education and employment to this increasing branch of the Indian community.

From Doctor Wilson‡, the staff Surgeon of his division, the author derived much knowledge both with respect to the climate, and the diseases to which the inhabitants of Central India were exposed. He is indebted, for communications of value, to Captains Delamain†, Ambrose§, and Pringle†, and to Lieutenants M'Mahon§, James Macdonald‖, G. Pasley¶,

* Bengal Engineers.
† Bengal Army.
‡ Madras Establishment.
§ Bombay Army.
‖ Madras Army.
¶ His Majesty's 14th foot.

and Douglas*, who were attached to the Political Department. He discovers the names of all these officers in his correspondence, as having made communications which have thrown light upon some parts of the subject of this work.

When it is stated, that there is not one person whose name has been mentioned, that is not well versed in the language and customs of the Natives, and that the attention of almost all was directed to the object of obtaining minute local information at the points where they were employed, the mass of authentic materials which they collected and transmitted to the author, may be imagined; but this was not the only source from which information was sought and obtained. Volumes were translated; inscriptions of deeds that confirmed dates and facts were carefully copied; and a great number of Natives of rank and intelligence, who had been actors in the scenes that have been described, were minutely examined as to the facts and measures with which they were acquainted. Though circumstances rendered almost all these communicative in a degree that is unusual with men of their class, the information thus obtained, being deemed liable to the bias of personal opinions and prejudice, was never depended upon, unless corroborated and verified from other quarters.

The above statement, combined with the notes and references in the body of the work, will shew the authorities upon which the facts in these volumes rest. Much detail has been gone into, but it was essential; for a work of this description can have no value, if it has not complete authenticity.

* Bengal Army.

No. II.

To Major-General Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B. K.L.S. &c. &c.

SIR,

IN compliance with your desire, I shall proceed to offer some observations on part of those materials which I have contributed towards the construction of the large map of Malwa, and the adjoining countries; and particularly on the astronomical operations which I was latterly enabled to perform, with a view to confirm or correct the previous surveys, by determining, by observations of latitude and longitude, the correct position of the principal places on the boundaries of Malwa, and of those in the contiguous province of Odeypoor, as far as came within the range of my late survey; and this last, though not extensive, I consider more important, from our limited acquaintance with it hitherto, and the numerous consequent errors in our best printed maps.

I have also, in conformity with your expressed wish, thrown together such hasty notices of the more prominent geological features of these provinces, as my late rapid tour on more important duties enabled me to collect; which being at present but general, can be only acceptable from the novelty of the subject and as a foundation for future research. My sole aim has been to endeavour to state a few apparent facts; rejecting or deferring to a more leisurely review details

which either admitted of doubt or required lengthened discussion; and avoiding, as far as practicable, all reference to particular systems, or to the contending geological theories, of either of which I am not a sufficient proficient in the science to have become an exclusive advocate: satisfied if I can merely furnish the more scientific geologist with a few materials by which to form his own judgment.

I have also added such meteorological journals as were in my possession, or which, from the deficiency of instruments, I have been enabled to make; but should a longer residence in the province admit, I hope at a future period to offer more perfect, by means of the instruments expected from Europe.

The register kept at Mundleysir by Major Wilson is the most complete; and as the distance between that place and Mhow is not above thirty miles, and as their comparative elevation has been ascertained, to a sufficient degree of correctness, by simultaneous barometrical observations, it will serve to give some idea of the climate of Malwa, by my remarking merely, that, from the inferior level of Nemaur, in which Mundleysir is situated, five or six degrees higher in temperature may in general be assigned to this last place; which, from its position also between the two grand ranges of the Vindhya and Satpoorah, neither of which is far distant, gives rise to more direct Easterly and Westerly winds, in the direction of the course of the Nerbudda, than is the case in Malwa, where they are perhaps more variable than in the lower neighbouring provinces.

To the table of latitudes and longitudes of places I have added a column, shewing their elevations above the sea, as taken barometrically during my last tour,

and founded on a comparison with the register of the Bombay Literary Society for the same period. As, however, the difference of humidity, and other circumstances affecting the accuracy of such results, could not now be taken into consideration, I merely offer these as rough calculations, which I hope hereafter to render more perfect. I regret also that, in lieu of these bulky scattered materials, I have not at present the means of forming them into the more convenient form of a chart.

With respect to the actual survey itself, you are aware that among the objects of my late tour, independent of the great addition to the stock of materials, one of the principal was, by making a circuit of Malwa, to form a skeleton map, founded on astronomical observations combined with the most minute and careful geodætical survey*, with magnetic bearings and perambulator distances. I proposed to myself two large circles, the completion of which would constitute an additional check on the whole of the operations; one commencing from Mhow round the boundaries of Malwa, and a subordinate one from Mundissor through part of Mewar to the same point. Delays arising from my other duties, and latterly ill health, obliged me to relinquish that part of my plan which related to the Eastern portion of Malwa, and to return through Oojein. The circles, therefore, actually performed, were, one from Mhow by Dhar, Bopawur, Nolye, Rutlam, Mundissor, Rampoora, Bampoora, Aggur, Mahidpoor, and Oojein, to head-quarters; the other from Mundissor by Pertaubghur, Dewla, and Durya-

* The protraction and details of this survey you have already received.

wud, across the grand range to Suloombur and the Deybur Lake, and thence to the city of Odeypoor, returning to Mundissor by Bheindur, Kanore, Sadree, and Neemutch. By these combined means I hoped to ensure such a degree of accuracy in my results, as might enable me, on my return, to constitute them tests of the correctness of the past labours of myself and others; which then consisting merely of routes or military surveys, whatever might be their relative accuracy, wanted fixed points or character as a geographical work.

In constructing the skeleton map which I made from this last survey, I used, as best adapted to so small a portion of territory, the plan of right lines for both meridians and parallels; the degrees of latitude according to the latest determination of the average of $69\frac{2}{10}$th British miles to a degree; those of longitude regulated by the latitudes through which they pass. In applying this map to the large one, the same plan has been adopted.

The observed latitudes in the annexed table will, I hope, from the nature of the instruments and observations, prove near the truth: each is established on three or four observations either of the sun and two or three fixed stars, as long as the Southern declination of the former admitted of this advantage, or of three or four stars, one of which was always a Northern one, the rest Southern. The same stars were observed as long as practicable. As only three of these observations differed amongst themselves above five or ten seconds, I am led to hope that the error, if any, will not often exceed the smallest of these quantities; the more especially, from their agreement with the geodætical survey carried on at the same period. The

instruments observed with were either a reflecting circle by Troughton, or an excellent brass sextant of ten inches radius. The North Polar distances of the stars, with annual variation, were those of the new list in the Nautical Almanack; and in refraction, the necessary corrections were applied for temperature and pressure of the atmosphere.

With regard to the longitudes, the loss, at an early period, of my achromatic refractor, deprived me of the advantages I had hoped to derive from the eclipses of Jupiter's Satellites in determining two or three principal stations. The longitudes assumed are, therefore, derived from difference or transfer of time, combined with the land survey and observed latitudes; taking Ojein at 75° 51′ East longitude, according to Dr. Hunter's determination; which, though deduced from eclipses of Jupiter's Satellites, calculated only by the times of the Nautical Almanack, without the advantage of corresponding or proximate observations, may, as being the result of seven observations of the first and second Satellites, be considered as sufficiently correct for the present purpose. The difference of time was acquired by means of two excellent chronometers in my possession, and by observations of equal altitudes at the several places. I thought also to secure greater accuracy by marching as rapidly as possible the direct East and West distances, or by adopting a large angle or diagonal of meridian and parallel, in order that the survey bearings and distances, with the observed latitudes, might also point out the correct positions.

I deemed it necessary to be thus minute in this part of the subject, from many of my positions differing essentially from those of the latest and best printed

maps. Some of these differences it may be proper to point out, leaving the rest to an inspection of the large map.

The greatest errors appear in the Northern parts of Malwa, and that part of Mewar termed, from its capital, Odeypoor; a tract till very lately little explored by Europeans.

The city of Odeypoor itself is placed nearly half a degree too far North, and a like distance too much to the Eastward; thus bringing it nearly North-west instead of almost South-west from Chittore, which last, excepting being a little too much South, is sufficiently well placed.

The fine lake called Deybur, or Jey Sagur, is not only erroneous in situation and shape, but the small river Gometee, which supplies it with water, and is allowed a partial vent at its South-east angle, is made a source or tributary of the Subramattee, a fine river of Guzerat, between which and the lake there is a grand broad range of primitive mountains; whilst the Mhye, which has its sudden turn a little to the Southward, receives finally the superfluous waters of the lake. Of the rest I need only name Mundissor, Neemutch, Jawud, Bampoora, Gungraur, &c. &c.

The variation of the magnetic needle, I have found, by an excellent transit instrument, to be at Mhow about 4° 30′ West. In other parts to the Eastward, Azimuths seem to give from that to 3° 30′ West.

The tides of the barometer, notwithstanding it has a larger range than is common to the lower plains, are very regular; but the times of greatest or least elevation vary according to the season. During the rainy season the greatest height is about 8 A. M. and least at 4 P. M.; whilst during the remainder of

the year both are an hour or more later. From such considerations, I should infer that great advantage might be derived from the use of an hygrometer, more particularly that of Mr. Daniell, in all comparative observations taken at this place and in the very humid and in general warmer climate of Bombay. For I have reason to believe, from observing the slowness with which the deliquescent salts, as muriate of lime, &c. &c., attract moisture from the atmosphere, and the rapid evaporation of fluids under open exposure to it, that the climate of Malwa is remarkably dry, above what its moderate elevation would suggest; and consequently, that in all nice calculations not only the pressure and temperature of the whole atmosphere, but also the pressure of the vapour and temperature of condensation at each station, will constitute points by no means unimportant.

I could have wished much to have presented you with a perfect meteorological register, or journal, of this place; but not having been able, till a short time before my departure on my last survey, to procure even a barometer*, I can only at present add one month's observations, to serve as a foundation for comparisons with the registers on the sea-coast. In assigning, however, the elevation of Mhow I was less guided by these observations than several scattered ones with other barometers of a superior construction, to which I had occasional access. I have, however, with a view to giving

* These were also broken during the progress of the survey, preventing me since from continuing my observations till the others expected shall arrive. Having since received two barometers, I have added my observations during January 1831 and the Bombay Register for the same period.

a loose estimate of the climate, added a table of the range of the thermometer during part of the years 1818-19, remarking merely that the season was not only unusually severe as to the quantity of rain which fell, but as to the heat, both during the wet and the warm weather. This last rainy season the temperature was remarkably equable, the thermometer ranging, with few exceptions, between 72° and 77°. Major Wilson's register, and a reference to the excellent remarks of Dr. Hunter in the Asiatic Researches, will, therefore, I trust, give a tolerable estimate, for the present, of the climate of Malwa, till I am enabled, should my longer residence in it admit, more fully to investigate the subject.

With regard to the Geology of Malwa, I enter with considerable diffidence on the subject, not only from the short period my attention has been directed to it, and the yet fluctuating nature of the science, but from the peculiar disadvantages under which I have laboured in the pursuit, and more particularly at the present period in arranging these scanty materials. I shall therefore more frequently describe than name minerals and formations, and leave deductions to those more deeply versed in the subject.

Malwa consists of a rich elevated plain, declining gently towards the North, in which direction, with trifling exceptions, flow all its streams. It appears to constitute the Northern termination of a very extensive secondary trap formation, which extends from the extremity of the Deckan, and probably even Mysore, forming all the country above the Ghauts, and part of the plains below, on the Western side of the Peninsula, and including the Islands of Bombay, Salsette, Elephanta, &c. &c. In this formation are contained the

great store of cornelians, agates, &c. of the Rajpeeply hills; and all those interesting Indian antiquities, the great Cave-temples, both Brahminical and Buddhist. The exclusive occurrence of these last in the direction of this tract might probably originate in the facility of excavating and sculpturing the rocks of sandstone, clay, iron ore, and amygdaloid, and the form of the hills and the vegetable coverings so well adapted to these secluded residences, found in this formation. Many mountain ranges, with their subordinate ramifications, occur within this line; but, excepting those which support the elevated table-lands, few rise above six or seven hundred feet above the level of the plains. Malwa itself, though on all sides bounded by hilly tracts, and on the West and North-west by a grand primitive range, which divides it from the alluvial plains of Guzerat, and which constitutes all the province of Mewar, (and probably Marwar,) contains none but the small hummocks or conical and table-crowned hills, from one to three hundred feet high, common to what are considered the newer trap countries. To the South the descent into Nemaur by the Vindhya range, which is in general elevated about 1650 feet above the Nerbudda, and towards whose banks there is a considerable declivity, is very abrupt and steep; and the several Ghauts, or passes, which have been made in it, are for the most part bad. As throwing some light on this formation, and as admitting of more minute inspection, I shall first concisely notice the general character of this range, and the valley through which the Nerbudda has its course.

These mountains, like every other in Malwa, appear to be distinctly stratified; consisting of alternate horizontal beds of basalt or trap, and amygdaloid. Four-

teen of these beds may, in general, be reckoned, the uppermost of which are usually from fifteen to thirty feet thick; but their depth rapidly increasing as lower in position; the amygdaloid being the broadest, excepting the lowest bed of basalt, which appears about three hundred feet high, and constitutes the rock of the lower plain. The two or three upper trap strata are fine-grained and massive, but it gradually assumes the state of globular trap, the balls of which are at first small, but lower down increase, till in the last of these beds they are of an immense size. This rock being well described in Thomson's details of the Wernerian system, where it is placed in the transition series, needs no farther notice. From the great difference in the resistance made to decomposition by these trap and amygdaloidal beds, their exposed ends acquire a very distinct degree of inclination and character; the amygdaloid forming a great slope, and affording a loose mould covered with vegetation; the trap retaining its original perpendicularity and dark bareness. From this arises a remarkable streaked and sharply defined appearance, which has probably furnished the Germans with the name.

These circumstances, combined with the table summits (common to hills of this class) formed often of a thick bed of basalt, presenting an outward bluff perpendicular rampart of considerable height, and the occurrence of one or two similar abrupt stages at the foot and on the ascent of the hill, will probably account for the numerous strong fortresses which are found in the direction of this formation. The upper bluff rock required at its summit nothing but a low parapet carried round its verge, or filling up any partial failures in it; and the other stages, with little

labour, presented similar advantages for the erection of second and perhaps lower forts; whilst the deep ravines, or water-courses, gave a ready and safe communication between the whole. Asseer is, amongst several similar along the Deckan, Candeish, and the Concan, an instance of such forts, whose chief advantages arise from these circumstances; and probably, with the singular hill of Dowletabad, owe their present state to these characters having suggested to the Natives such a mode of fortification, and having afforded them at the same time, perhaps, a facility of execution in the nature of the rock of which I conjecture this last hill is formed.

The amygdaloid of the Vindhya seems to consist mostly of a porous or decomposing wacke, whose cells are lined with green earth, and which are sometimes empty, but more generally filled with globular, compressed, or mamillated masses of zeolites, calcareous spar, or quartz crystals. These usually do not exceed the size of a large almond. The most abundant are the calcareous and mesotype united in the centre by converging delicate filaments like fine cotton. Small crystals of cubic zeolite exist, and siliceous crystals internally filled often with calcareous spar.

Below the Jaum Ghaut, about a mile from the Nerbudda, between Mundleysir and Mhysir, is a cluster of basaltic columns, rising from a small ridge. Their diameters vary from a foot to a foot and a half, and they project from four to six feet above the surface. Their general form is a prism of four or six sides, and the basalt of which they are composed is of a brilliant black, very hard, and of a moderate size grain. These columns are all either vertical or highly inclined, but appear to dip to no particular point.

The rock from which they rise, and which constitutes the bed of the Nerbudda for a considerable distance, is a compact or fine-grained basalt, having sometimes imbedded felspar, but is more commonly much intersected by narrow vertical veins of quartz, or thin seams or wayboards of the same basalt, but containing, apparently, a larger proportion of iron. In this rock, or attached to large quartz fragments, are found very beautiful specimens of zeolites, more especially the foliated and the radiated, or prismatoidal (stilbite). In most parts, however, of the Northern portion of Nemaur, the rock seldom rises to the surface, in the plains.

The banks of the Nerbudda, for a considerable distance, between Mundleysir and Chiculdah, are from forty to seventy feet high, and consist, independent of a thin upper layer of rich vegetable mould, of two distinct strata of alluvium. The upper, which is very light-coloured, contains a great quantity of indurated marl, and is strongly impregnated with muriate of soda or common salt; which the Natives extract, by lixiviation and subsequent evaporation by the sun in shallow compartments near the banks, and sell it to the poorer classes, particularly the Bheels, in the neighbourhood. This stratum is usually from thirty to forty feet thick.

The one on which it reposes, and from which it is divided by a strongly marked horizontal line and a difference of colour, (this last being of a redder hue,) contains a very large proportion of carbonate of soda in general, but slightly contaminated by the muriate. This bed rarely exceeds ten or fifteen feet thick, and rests immediately on the basalt, forming the bed of the river. In the dry season, both these salts form a

thick efflorescence on the surface of the bank, and this alone is collected by the Natives. That from the lower bed forms an article of export for the use of the washerman, &c. &c.; but the soda itself is not extracted, like the common salt; nor is its value, but in the above way, known.

In some places, near the city of Mhysir, there are pointed out in the upper bed or near the junction of the two, large earthen vessels and bricks, asserted to belong to the ancient city of that name, which, with Oojein and above eighty other large places in Malwa and Bagur, are stated to have been, at a very remote period, overwhelmed by a shower of earth. But at present there is no appearance of volcanic matters, though some of the hills, both in the Vindhya range and in the neighbouring wild tract of Rajpeeply, are said to have hollows sometimes filled with water, near their summits, which have been thought to resemble extinct craters. These I have never seen, and cannot, therefore, hazard an opinion. Earthquakes appear to be, to the North-west, of frequent occurrence; and, if we may judge from the recent one which nearly overwhelmed the province of Cutch, often very severe. These soils are sandy, and with their saline ingredients appear, however, naturally enough to be derived from the decomposition of the rocks composing the neighbouring mountains, and which each rainy season, with the violence peculiar to India, would bring down and deposit in great abundance.* But how the two

* The occurrence of stilbite in the amygdaloid of Elephanta has been pronounced as decisive of that formation being Neptunian and not Volcanic. The same remark would therefore apply to Malwa.

strata have acquired their relative position and marked line of separation, it is here unnecessary to surmise or inquire.

The bed of the Nerbudda, consisting as already remarked, for a considerable portion of its course, of basaltic rocks, gives rise to numerous shallows and small falls. Of these the three principal are, one at Deyree, where the river is much contracted; a second at Sansadarah, a little below Mhysir; and a third at the Hurrin Pall, or Deer's leap, below Chiculdah; whence, till its entrance into Guzerat, the stream finds its way, contracted to within half its usual breadth, between two hilly ranges, and its course being much impeded, so as to render navigation impracticable, by large masses and elevated ridges of the rock.

Passing higher up the stream from Mundleysir, the Northern bank, after about thirty miles, becomes rocky and precipitous, and consists of gently inclined beds chiefly of greenstone slate, containing interposed mica in small grains. But the Island of Mundatta, and part of the opposite bank, appear mostly to consist of hornstone slate, of a reddish or greenish grey, and sometimes porphyritic. Above this for a considerable distance is, on each bank, a very wild woody tract, resembling that already noticed below Chiculdah, excepting that the river is in general deep and less obstructed by rocks.

This part consists of a succession of low hills and deep ravines and water-courses, is covered with high thick forests, and is scarcely capable of being travelled, in most parts for seven or eight miles from the river, by any but foot-passengers. Iron ore abounds, but the country being almost desolate it is only smelted at Kautcote and Chandghur for the supply

of the Indore and neighbouring markets. It is of a good quality, but from the imperfect mode of working, the metal is little valued, excepting for common purposes. The hilly tract below Chiculdah is better populated, chiefly by wild Bheel tribes; and nearer Broach, on the Southern bank, are the Rajpeeply hills, inhabited by the Coolie tribe. In these hills are situate the several cornelian mines, of which a concise account has been given by Dr. Copland in the first volume of the Bombay Literary Transactions. From Burwaye to Chiculdah, the whole valley, from the Satpoorah to the Vindhya mountains, is nearly level, well watered, cultivated, and inhabited.

In the upper plains of Malwa little diversity exists; cellular (vesicular) or compact trap rocks, and amygdaloid, being found, according to the comparative elevation of the spot. These rocks alternate throughout; but their beds decrease in thickness, proceeding North from the Vindhya. The low hills and ridges have often an upper bed of trap, or wacke, in fragments or small masses covered with or imbedded in a ferruginous clay; and the surface of these hills is thickly strewn with large fragments and apparently rolled masses of the same rock, coarse, and full of cells. Quartz and calcareous spar are, in general, also intermixed. In the hills of any height, compact or massive basalt, or trap, alternating with amygdaloid, are the principal rocks. Every point of view presents the same uniform and distinctly streaked appearance noticed in the Vindhya range.

In the plain, the vegetable soil is seldom of much depth, generally from three to ten feet, and rarely, as in the central parts, fifteen feet deep. It is either a red ferruginous or a rich black loam; the former compact,

the latter light, with deep cracks or fissures in every direction. There occurs in some parts, particularly near the bottom of the small hills and banks of the rivulets, between this bed and the rock, a thin bed of loose marl or coarse earthy limestone, containing small balls of a fine light-coloured clay.

Near Saugur there occurs an amygdaloidal or porphyritic rock, consisting of a compact basis of wacke, in which is imbedded in great abundance, small globular or reniform masses, but more usually long curved cylinders or vermiform crystals of zeolite. The bed of the Kali Sind mostly consists of a similar rock, but in it the crystals are usually globular and very small, varying in size from a pin's head to a large pea, and having calcareous spar and quartz intermixed, or forming a minute centre to the zeolite, radiating outwards. At Cherolee, near Kachrode, are some large overlying masses of trap prophyry. At Jowra, and near Rutlam, are small beds of a coarse calcareous conglomerate. Beyond Dhar, near Sultanpoor, occurs a large bed of a handsome jasper, of purple, green or reddish, or liver-brown intermixed; and in the neighbouring hills, towards Mandoo, and along the crest of the Vindhya, a great variety of crystallized siliceous, calcareous and zeolitic minerals abounds. Large tables of agate, whose surface is often covered with delicate quartz crystals, large balls or geodes of agate or quartz, often amethystine, but seldom of a deep or uniform colour, and stalactitic quartz or siliceous sinter, are abundant. These quartz or agate balls vary in size from five or six inches to a foot in their greatest diameter, and the internal cavity is often partially or entirely filled by pure calcareous or double

refracting spar. This last mineral occurs in all the hills in large masses. Some of the zeolites are nearly massive, and are of a delicate pink or flesh-coloured tint; and a foliated variety of a brick-red occurs often in narrow seams. Very large and beautiful specimens of the foliated and radiated varieties are the most abundant, some of which can, at first, scarcely be distinguished from tremolite.

Univalve and bivalve shells, particularly buccinum, ammonites, and a species of muscle, abound in the marls and earthy limestones; the ammonites are mostly found in the bed of the Nerbudda near Onkar Mundattah and the falls, but I have not seen any but detached hand specimens and never imbedded in any rock.

Along the whole bed of the Chumbul is a broad bed or dyke of horizontally stratified tabular basalt; each table of which is either rhomboidal or five or six sided, and their thickness varying from one or two inches to upwards of a foot.

Their diameter is generally about a foot, and the tables are so closely united at their sides, and their summits so level, as to frequently form a smooth pavement, and towards each bank breaking into small steps. Each table appears to have a nucleus or centre of a more compact, hard nature, and from thence to radiate outwards. This rock extends for a short distance from the bank of the river, and has not been observed to alternate with amygdaloid or any other rock; and is therefore, perhaps, connected either with a lower bed of the globular trap, which the Vindhya mountains seem to shew as constituting the lower strata; or more probably, as occurring in the same

direct line with the basaltic columns in Nemaur, where there also appears a similar dyke, is connected with these last.

In many parts of the Southern boundary of Malwa, a short distance from Mhow, the country, near the Vindhya, breaks down into deep romantic ravines, from one to three hundred feet high, the sides of which are either very steep, or perpendicular, and composed of a large grained massive basalt approaching to rudely columnar. By these some of the small rivers and mountain streams find their way down to the Nerbudda, giving rise to several beautiful waterfalls from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and eighty feet perpendicular height. This rock, like that of Nemaur, is much intersected by vertical veins of quartz, or narrow seams of a more compact heavy basalt, which appear to radiate from centres, at some distance apart, and after a little way run parallel till the rays from contiguous centres meet. This basalt contains also small crystals of augite, and grains of yellowish or olive-green olivine.

Independent of the vast stores of iron ore in all the boundary hills of Malwa, there is a narrow bed of cellular clay iron ore, East of the Chumbul, extending obliquely the whole length of the province, and said to extend even to the North-east into Harrowtee. It constitutes a low ridge, of which the higher parts, as at the Cave-temples of Doomnar, seldom exceed two hundred feet, and which apparently reposes on sandstone. In some parts this rock is tolerably compact, whilst in others it has large cavities, in which the same ore exists in a pisiform or botryoidal state. The ore is poor in metal, and not worked.

The upper or Northern part of Malwa is chiefly occupied by sandstone and sandstone-slates, on which repose, in most parts, the low boundary range, extending across from Chittore to Harrowtee; which consists principally of hornstone, splintery or conchoidal, and in some places the beds of which are so thin as to assume a slaty appearance. Its usual colour is light greenish or reddish grey, with thin stripes of a darker purplish red, and a radiated structure. Through the interstices of these beds, in general about half way up the hill, in many places percolate fine springs of good water: one of these occurs near Rampoora, where some stone reservoirs and a small temple dedicated to Mahadeva have been built by the pious Alia Bhye. Besides filling these basons, a small stream is conducted through a pipe into the temple, and made to drip continually on the sacred Lingam. Brahmins are attached to and reside at the temple. This range throughout is precipitous, but of nearly an uniform height, generally about two hundred or two hundred and fifty feet, and of an unbroken determined line at the summit. All the beds seem to be horizontal or nearly so, but the upper half of the hill is usually massive.

The sandstones are generally very fine-grained, and vary in colour from a greenish and bluish grey, to a light hair or yellowish brown and brick-red. The brown varieties have usually rather a larger grain, and contain sometimes a little mica. The grey kind forms a very valuable building-stone, and is quarried for that purpose in many places East of the Chumbul. The pagodas and public edifices at Rampoora are built of the yellowish-brown kind, quarried at Bamorie

near the left bank of the Chumbul; and at Bampoora a magnificent tomb and Serai are erecting to the memory of Jeswunt Row Holkar entirely of the grey variety, which, from its durability and the facility and perfection of sculpture of which it is capable, is admirably adapted to the purpose. The same sandstones appear to run not only along the top of Malwa, but passing round at a short distance South of Jowra, extend down its Western boundary. The sandstone-slates are sometimes rather coarse and friable, but usually, as about Rampoora, are dark-coloured, fine-grained, and contain often imbedded in the centre a fat yellow clay.

At Jeerun, and passing hence Westward towards Odeypoor, are sandstones and sandstone-slates of different textures and colours. The principal rock at this first place is, however, a fine-grained yellowish-brown sandstone slate; in which occurs much mica in brilliant minute plates, and between the slaty fracture numerous vegetable remains or impressions of a species of fern, appearing to be in a carbonized state. Some red and white striped varieties of sandstone slates at a little distance are coarse and friable; and near the base of the small mound on which Jeerun is built, occurs a bed, apparently overlying, of rather a coarse variegated brick-red and dull white sandstone.

After ascending the small ridge at Dulputpoora, which consists of a coarse siliceous gritstone, commences an undulating country, consisting rather of a succession of low hills and ridges closely connected. All this tract, till near Cheetakairee, the boundary town of the Odeypoor territories, consists of variegated sandstones, with the same in a slaty form, and of a very fine grain or nearly compact, in smaller

quantity.* The sandstones are of various tints of grey and red, in stripes and spots; but after passing Cheetakairee, the grey kind, in which there are sometimes smaller spots of a brilliant red, is the most abundant, and contains narrow beds of a coarse limestone, and a red marl of a fine grain.

At Cheetakairee are some furnaces and shops for working an iron ore found in reniform or mamillated masses, and of good quality, a short distance Southward, and abundantly in all that quarter and towards Neemutch.

Proceeding West, a compact greenish-yellow limestone occurs, with thin beds of a slaty clay of a dull-reddish colour, and approaching in appearance to a fine-grained sandstone; but till near Chota Sadree, where are protruding masses of hornstone, little rock appears till approaching the Doom Ghaut or pass a little beyond it. This pass is over a low range, in general not exceeding one hundred, or an hundred and fifty feet high, and consisting of a hard compound rock, having the appearance of a porphyry of rather a fine-grained† red basis with numerous imbedded crystals of white quartz. Descending from it Westward occurs, for a short distance, fine-grained sandstone slates, succeeded by limestone and quartz rocks, in considerably inclined beds dipping towards the East. In these sandstone slates are no vegetable impressions, or at least not so abundant as to be readily discovered.

On ascending from the hollow, commence narrow

* This appears to be Werner's second or variegated sandstone formation.

† This basis appears to be a fine siliceous grit.

beds of a yellowish or buff-coloured and glimmering magnesian limestone, and a breccia or conglomerate, apparently of the same basis, but containing small round masses or pebbles of quartz. Thin beds of the same slaty clay also occur for a little way farther. After a short distance, however, till near Peeliah, is a cultivated open plain; but beyond this to Dewlia is a very rugged wild undulating country, covered with low jungle. The rock, which everywhere rises to the surface, consists mostly of a fine-grained light or yellowish-brown lime-stone*, and resembling some yellow marbles, and containing at first narrow beds of magnesian limestone with occasional thinner ones of a large-grained siliceous sandstone, having combined small quartz pebbles and a fine-grained red marl occurring abundantly towards the latter part near Satola. Hence to Burra Sadree is a cultivated country. At this place is a low range of a fine-grained siliceous sandstone, but beyond it, till near Cannore, the country is covered with a low jungle and a rich vegetable soil. Here occur beds of a sienitic granite; but after passing Cannore a light-coloured sienite forms the principal rock. It, however, differs much in appearance in various parts of its course, from the greater or less prevalence of the hornblende. The ingredients indeed are sometimes almost separated into distinct seams, veins of quartz and brilliant hornblende often occurring almost unmixed. Towards Bheindur commences a fine granite, and at

* Apparently the mountain limestone of Werner, and with the other rocks constituting perhaps his first flat limestone and first sandstone formations. Northward of this, gypsum and rock-salt are abundant minerals; and there are grounds for believing that coal will also be found

that place occur vast beds of the same, but of a larger grain, having light-coloured felspar and white quartz, but mica of a greenish black in rather large plates, and often so abundant as to give the rock a slaty structure or fracture.

A little to the Westward of Bheindur the country gradually rises, and for a considerable distance clay slate of a dark-grey colour, and sometimes nearly earthy texture, is the only rock. This is succeeded by the light sienite, for a short way; but thence to Kairoda is a finely granular rock resembling sienite, but apparently a small-grained granite, and owing its greenish spotted appearance to small disseminated crystals of thallite.

From Kairoda to Durolee, is a level, barren, and in some parts swampy tract, crossed North and South by streams of sand, gravel, fragments of quartz, and other detritus; but thence to the mountain range which incloses the city of Odeypoor to the Eastward, is mostly gneiss of the waved or banded variety in nearly vertical or highly inclined beds, dipping towards the North-east and containing or alternating with granite: narrow veins or seams of brilliant slaty hornblende and quartz also occur in smaller quantity.

With respect to this range itself, it is generally from four to seven hundred feet high, and is composed of either massive or columnar hornstone, in most parts finely porphyritic, in others, as at the Deybur lake, forming a large conglomerate with much interposed golden mica. It appears to rest immediately on gneiss, but reposes against, or has inclosed in it, a central bed of mica slate.

A little to the Southward of the Deybaree, or Eastern gate, leading into the Odeypoor valley, occurs one

of those fine lakes* common to Mewar, and in which the Rajpoot Princes take great delight and in their construction spend large sums, not only from their magnificent scale, and summer palaces being built at them, but from the nature of the materials and perfection of the workmanship; the architects and sculptors of Odeypoor being celebrated throughout the neighbouring provinces, and forming a school which alone is thought to produce artists capable of executing great aquatic works. This lake, though one of the smallest, merits notice, not only as affording an example of the general mode of their formation, but as giving a view of the internal structure of these mountains, by means of a great slide, or rent occurring at this place.

The small river Bedus, which has its rise in the hills a short distance from Odeypoor, and a branch of which supplies the lake of that city with water, has its course, and is still allowed a partial vent, through a narrow opening in this Eastern boundary range, which leads down by the Deybur lake, and, forming two of its sides, joins the larger range encircling that city to the Westward. Some convulsion of nature

* These two ranges meet also North, forming altogether a strong inaccessible barrier round the beautiful valley of Odeypoor, and into which there are but three regular passes by fortified gateways, but one or two difficult footpaths are said also to occur. The breadth of the valley is about ten miles, and its length thirty. The situation of the city itself is pleasing; and its approach from the Eastward, rising gradually towards the palace, which is it elf a fine object, and having in the back-ground rugged, primitive mountains overtopping each other in the extreme distance, is romantic, and gives an air of grandeur which does not belong to it on a nearer inspection.

has torn asunder, or caused to slide, upwards of an hundred feet of the lower portion of the Southern mountain, forming a precipitous grand chasm from fifty to one hundred feet broad, the sides of which expose to view enormous columns of hornstone (which appear to be minutely porphyritic from interspersed mica), highly inclined and dipping towards the East. Through the centre of the mountain occurs a narrow bed of fine light-coloured mica slate.

From the detached portion of the mountain, across the bed of the river, to that opposite, has been thrown a magnificent dam, faced with marble, and adorned with sculptured figures, small temples, and open buildings of the same materials. This dam is thirty-seven feet high above the level of the lake, which is said to be very deep, and whose waters are clear and sea-green. Its length is three hundred and thirty-four yards, and it is one hundred and ten yards broad at the top, but increases by numerous steps towards the base. On the lake side it is also strengthened by large projecting square buttresses. The Bedus, thus obstructed in its course through these hills, overflows part of the neighbouring valley for about a mile East and West by about double that distance North and South. It is allowed, however, a partial vent through the chasms, across which rude walls are thrown to allow the escape of the superfluous water when it has attained a certain level in the lake. The valley of Odeypoor itself consists either of gneiss or a fine-grained granite, at first scarcely to be distinguished from some micaceous sandstones.

In passing from Malwa to Odeypoor farther Southward across the Duryawud valley, and the Suloombur range towards the Deybur lake, the character of

the country, and order of rocks, differ from those described.

Although the country from Mundissor to Pertaubghur is somewhat wild and broken, and again becomes so after a short distance proceeding Westward towards Dewlia, it is only on descending from that place in the direction of Phoonga Tullao, that we finally enter the boundary hills, and begin to perceive traces of other rocks than those common to Malwa. Near this last place, and at Dewlia, occur two distinct stages or small descents, with intermediate woody, undulating country; at each of these there is a decisive change of rock, the first part consisting mostly of fragments or overlying masses of the trap rocks just quitted; but at the foot of the last descent, near Phoonga Tullao, all traces of these are lost, and sienite and porphyritic rocks form all the small hills and basis of the valleys in this wild tract. This sienite is generally coarse-grained and porphyritic from large imbedded crystals of felspar. It forms the basis principally of the rivulets and valley, but the small hills consist equally of this and clay porphyry. This last consists of a basis of very fine hard clay slate, varying in colour from yellowish to reddish and greenish grey, and containing imbedded crystals of quartz, and some felspar both in grains and thin veins, but the latter being usually porphyritic. The sienite porphyry also contains thin seams of a fine green clay slate without the quartz. The clay porphyry occurs also at the top and sides of the hills in large overlying masses. The beds or slaty structure of these rocks have a direction nearly North-west and South-east, are highly inclined, and dip towards the North-east, whilst the hills themselves run nearly North and South.

These rocks continue for several miles, till finally entering the Duryawud valley near Peepliah, constituting a very wild romantic hilly tract, covered with low jungle chiefly of the Bamboo (Bambusa arundinacea and stricta), Butea frondosa, Teak (Tectona grandis), Bayr (Zizyphus Jujuba), and Aul (Morinda citrifolia.) Some beautiful small valleys occur in this space; and the more distant hills are higher, steep, long, and narrow or conical, with craggy summits, and their sides covered for the most part with a stunted vegetation.

At Peepliah occur large protruding beds and masses of a coarse-grained granite with black mica, similar to that noticed at Bheindur. This rock continues across the valley to Duryawud. Thence proceeding Westward towards Soledew, sienite, but usually of a fine grain and dark colour, and porphyritic sienite, again occur. This sienite contains iron pyrites, and is of extremely difficult fracture. Large beds, however, of a coarse red granite often rise to the surface at the ridges. At Soledew itself a fine-grained sandstone, of a yellowish or greyish white, and of a slaty structure, occurs in narrow beds with hornstone. Close to the Westward of Soledew, commences the ascent of the Maunpoor or Suloombur range, whose general elevation above the Duryawud valley is seven or eight hundred feet, but in many parts eleven or twelve hundred. This range consists almost entirely of slates, with subordinate beds of greenstone, greenstone slate, and a finely granular crystalline limestone of a light grey colour. These greenstone or limestone beds, however, occur principally during the ascent or first part, but become more scarce towards Maunpoor, clay and chlorite slates being almost the only rocks for five or

six miles. These slates are vertical or highly inclined, their direction being nearly North-north-west and South-south-east with a dip to the Eastward. The clay slates vary in colour from bluish to greenish and latterly reddish grey; this last occurring chiefly about two miles from Maunpoor, and containing an abundance of brilliant golden mica in minute plates. In this occurs a large bed also of a coarse breccia or conglomerate, having a basis of porous rather soft clay. The greenish clay slate contains an abundance of cubic crystals of pyrites, and the chlorite slate of magnetic pyrites. The whole ascent of this range from its immediate base to Maunpoor, a small hamlet situated on its ordinary summit, is about six miles and a half. The only road is a small footpath, either along the beds of several of the little mountain streams rising here and flowing into the Mhye, which has its sudden turn a little Southward, or the narrow ledges winding along the abrupt sides of these mountains. The ascent is a task of considerable difficulty, and even danger, from the continual obstructions of large overlying masses of the slates every where scattered about in wild disorder and threatening their fall with the slightest impulse. Thick, but stunted jungle, covers this range, but consisting mostly of bamboo and teak.

About half a mile North of Maunpoor occur two singular hills, of one hundred and fifty and two hundred feet high, composed entirely of compact white semitransparent quartz, in parts slightly tinged with red. They rise abruptly from the slates. From the division of this rock into vertical and horizontal fissures arises a singularly wall-like structure, and an angular wild outline, and castellated appearance, which, with its brilliant white colour, contrasted with the sombre

hue of the slates, makes these hills at a distance resemble snowy peaks rising from amidst desolation and disorder. Immense beds of quartz, indeed, abound not only in these and neighbouring hills, but in all the lower plains of Suloombur and towards Odeypoor. In the midst of this range occur some small fertile valleys from one to three hundred feet below its common summit. Such is the pleasant small one at Beerawul about two miles West of Maunpoor, a distance which may be reckoned the ordinary breadth of the top of these mountains. For soon after passing this small village, the road winds by watercourses, and the intersection of the hills, gradually down to the Suloombur valley, which may be said to commence at Malpoor, by the hills gradually falling off North and South. This whole descent is covered with thick jungle, and is about eight miles long. The same rocks occur and succeed each other as on the Duryawud side; but mica slate appears as the principal rock for three or four miles after passing Beerawul. The coarse red granite seems to be the principal rock in the Malpoor valley; but afterwards, till close to Suloombur, gneiss. The bed of the Hurnee river at this place consists of the same red granite, in which occur narrow seams of pure flesh-coloured felspar. The hill at the base of which Suloombur is built, consists of gneiss with thin quartz veins; but immediately beyond it for some distance, almost the only rock is mica slate; in which occurs thinner beds of either hornblende and mica, or hornblende slate; but quartz in beds and overlying masses is very abundant. The same red granite appears again half way towards the Deybur lake or Beerpoor; but, approaching that place, gneiss. The noble lake called Deybur or Jey Sagur, has been formed by taking

advantage of similar circumstances to those noticed at Odey Sagur. The Gometee river, which formerly burst through a narrow opening in this range, is arrested by a magnificent marble dam thrown across its bed, to prevent which being endangered, a partial vent has been given to its waters, at a lower part of its banks. This lake presents a deep clear expanse of water; bounded on two sides by fine mountains from four to seven hundred feet high and projecting abruptly into it. The other sides consist of lower elevations or ridges. The extreme length of the lake is about eight miles, and its breadth from three to four miles. It has some pretty small woody islands near its centre, on the largest of which an Hindu devotee has taken up his residence. The dyke or dam is of superior magnificence and workmanship to that at Odey Sagur, and an handsome palace and attendant buildings have been erected on the hill at its Eastern end. Along it also are several pretty small open marble buildings, and at the centre a temple of the same materials. Steps, the whole length of the dam, lead down to the water. These are ornamented by large figures of elephants* on high projecting pedestals, at short distances asunder. The total height of the dam to the water's edge is fifty-four feet, and its length three furlongs; its breadth one hundred and ten yards. From the premature death, however, of its builder, Rana Jey Singh, it is in an unfinished state. Every part of it is faced with well-cut white marble, and the small buildings, elephants, and all its decorations are of the same stone, which is abundant in the neighbouring grand

* These are about seven feet high, and each of a single block of marble.

range. It appears, however, to be much intersected by thin veins of mica.

The base and lower parts of these mountains are of gneiss with quartz veins; but the upper part rises an almost perpendicular bare wall, of a large conglomerate or compound rock, consisting of immense reniform or compressed globular masses of hornstone or quartz, imbedded in a paste of the same, but having interposed a large quantity of golden mica in brilliant small plates, which causes it readily to separate, or divide from the cement in that direction. Thin beds of mica slate occur near the centre of the mountain, with small seams of felspar, and large imbedded masses of lucullite of a black colour and dull conchoidal fracture. Some of the distant hills, by their rounded outlines and woody coverings, appear to want this overlying rock; whilst others seem to be grandly columnar, as at Odey Sagur, with which range it has already been stated to connect; the whole is a branch of the great mountain chain which runs nearly in a direction North and South past the Westward of Odeypoor, till it joins the still more magnificent one of Marwar. It divides Guzerat from Malwa, Rath, and Bagur. This grand mountainous tract, as far as our very limited acquaintance with it yet enables us to judge, consists entirely of primitive rocks, principally slates and primitive limestones. Towards Doongurpoor, Southward, are chiefly slates, with abundance of potstone and pure steatite; whilst Northward, marble and rock crystal are abundant minerals. Every part of the fine palaces and garden residences in the lake at Odeypoor are of marble, and the sculptural decorations are not only highly finished, but display a considerable degree of taste. Images,

toys, and a great variety of articles of marble, rock crystal, and steatite, are hence, and from Jeypoor, exported to all the neighbouring parts of India. Copper and lead are said to abound a little to the Northward, and the mines to have formerly yielded a considerable revenue. But during the late commotions, the operations were suspended, and have not yet been resumed. It is also asserted, that silver ore was found, but that it did not repay the cost of working.

Proceeding Northward from the Deybur lake towards Odeypoor, mica slate is the principal rock. The country as far as Ginglah is open, and nearly level.

From Ginglah for some distance occurs only the waved gneiss with quartz veins; but on ascending towards Surmur, are beds of clay slate passing into chlorite slate, but principally greenstone slate, or porphyritic trap, in which the mica is in rather large plates, and very abundant. At Kote ascend a succession of small hills, which appear to consist mostly of a fine-grained but friable pink sandstone, in considerably inclined beds, with thinner ones of pure brilliant hornblende, and containing a little of the same disseminated throughout it. Near Korabur, and for some distance beyond it, the principal rock is a largely porphyritic pink granite, with beds of greenstone slate. From Korabur towards Seeswee, there is a rapid ascent by a succession of low hills covered with stunted jungle; and after the first two miles, almost the only rock is a waved gneiss, containing thin beds of a small-grained granite and quartz veins. Near Seeswee, serpentine beds occur, but not abundantly. At Seeswee itself, the principal rock is a brilliant hornblende and quartz mixed, with a slaty structure.

From Seeswee till near Odey Sagur is chiefly a desolate, open plain, covered with vegetable mould.

Passing from Malwa to Guzerat to the South-west, by Ally and Chota Odeypoor, is a continuation of this same hilly belt; but in general the descent is more gradual, and the hills of less elevation. The order and variety of rocks are nearly similar to those already enumerated.

The first well-marked descent occurs near Tirrella, and continues gradually, for fourteen miles, to Parah. In the greater part of this distance occur the trap rocks of Malwa, succeeded by coarse sandstones and limestones, with immense quartz beds, siliceous grit-stone, and coarse conglomerates. The limestone is, in general, coarse, approaching in parts to earthy, of a deep brick-red intermixed with white, and containing often much silex. Towards Goorah commences clay and chlorite slates, and those singular quartz hills mentioned in the Maunpoor range, but here, from their less elevation but greater length, assuming at a distance the appearance of an encampment. Quartz, indeed, forms, till after passing Goorah, a very abundant rock. Beyond Goorah, till reaching the neighbourhood of Rajpoor, mica slate, with seams of pure felspar, sometimes perfectly white, is the principal rock. In some places, felspar porphyry overlies in considerable masses. At Rajpoor, and thence to Chota Odeypoor, is rather a small-grained granite, in which the mica is black, the other ingredients white; but it differs from that at Bheindur in having the mica in only minute grains, and in much smaller quantity. At Odeypoor occurs a largely granular red limestone, having a highly glimmering or splendent fracture, and containing disseminated small crystals of rather dark

green serpentine, and a very little mica. Granite again occurs till near Jubboogaum; after which, little rock, excepting in large overlying masses, occurs till near the borders of Guzerat, when a coarse millstone grit is an abundant rock, and is quarried in many places for domestic purposes, and sent to Baroda and the surrounding large towns.

With respect to the Eastern and North-east boundary, little knowledge has been yet attained of its geological characters; but the country is generally described as consisting of a broad hilly belt similar to that on the West, and in like manner gradually leading down to the lower plains of Bundelcund by what is termed the second range of the Vindhya. Whether or not trap rocks, either of the Malwa, or of an older formation, continue in this direction, has not yet been ascertained; but there are grounds for believing that the tract does not consist of primitive rocks.

In concluding therefore this loose, rapid sketch, I have only again to claim your indulgence for any deficiencies, or errors, which may have arisen from the mode in which the materials were collected under the pressure of more important public duties, which admitted not of delay, and afforded little leisure; but more particularly from the unfavourable circumstances both of health and time under which these hints have been embodied. Probably these may not affect the general accuracy of the whole, as I have preferred meagreness to error, and rejected much which required more patient research for its confirmation. I cannot also but remark, that, considering the disadvantages under which we all labour in this remote quarter from the want of scientific cabinets, works, and instruments, even had fewer obstacles occurred, my limited acquirements in this

still infant science would not have probably enabled me to present you with a more finished and perfect performance. My sole aim has been, in compliance with your request, to throw together, in the absence of more perfect details, a few notes I possessed on the geology of Malwa and its adjoining provinces, as an adjunct to its geography, leaving to more experienced and scientific geologists the after-task of correction and perfection of this imperfect outline.

I have added, also, a slight geological sketch. In detail it may perhaps prove imperfect or erroneous; but if it suffice to render intelligible the above remarks, it will have answered the only end I had in view. It is not offered therefore as a perfect geological map; subordinate or more limited mineral beds or masses having been neglected, and only the more important or extensive noticed, and a few points having been traced merely from hand specimens. If it, however, prove generally correct, it will possess all the value I attach to it, in its yet immature state.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

F. DANGERFIELD, Captain,

Surveying Officer.

Latitudes and Longitudes taken in Malwa and Mewar, with their Barometrical Elevations above the Sea.

Places.	North Latitudes.	East Longitudes.	Heights above the Sea.
	° ′ ″	° ′ ″	Feet.
Amjherra - - - - -	22 33 24	75 13 00	1890
Aggur - - - - - -	23 42 51	76 00 50	1598
Bangla - - - - -	22 32 32	- - -	1990
Bopawur - - - - -	22 36 47.5	75 05 10	1836
Budwassa - - - -	23 29 30.5	75 07 40	1686
Bheindur - - - -	24 30 01	74 13 00	1872
Borekairee - - - -	24 26 56	70 06 35	1459
Bumoorie (Small) - -	24 27 27.5	75 36 40	1341
Bampoora - - - -	24 30 45	75 50 00	1344
Burrode - - - - -	23 47 11	75 52 55	1530
Banswarra - - - -	23 31 30	74 31 40	
Chittore - - - - -	24 52 01	74 44 30	
Dhar - - - - - -	22 35 30	75 23 40	1908
Dessye - - - - -	22 42 42	75 13 30	1872
Dhodur - - - - -	23 45 38	75 10 25	1482
Dulowda - - - -	23 55 35	75 09 20	1518
Dewla, or Dewghur -	24 02 09	74 43 40	1770
Duryawud - - - -	24 05 33.5	74 31 50	816
Deybur Fulao Bund -	24 14 18	74 01 30	1044
Doodeakairee - - -	24 25 51	75 46 50	
Doomnar Caves - -	24 11 51	75 34 30	1425*
Doongurpoor - - -	23 47 44	73 49 40	
Dektaun - - - -	22 34 10	75 33 57	1881
Ginglah - - - - -	24 18 18	74 06 10	1038
Gungsaur - - - -	23 55 41	75 11 25	1498
Indore - - - - -	22 42 02	75 46 50	1998
Julwa - - - - -	22 32 52	75 40 30	2016
Jowrah - - - - -	23 38 13.2	75 11 20	1137
Jeerun - - - - -	24 18 25	74 55 20	1590
Jawud - - - - -	24 35 56	74 58 25	1440
Kaunwun - - - -	22 51 40	75 21 20	1792
Kursode - - - -	23 13 03	75 25 55	1679
Kachrode - - - -	23 24 58.5	75 20 05	1638
Korabur - - - -	24 27 18.5	74 02 00	1272
Kairoda - - - - -	24 35 00	74 06 05	1902

* Taken at the small tank at their feet.

Places.	North Latitudes.			East Longitudes.			Heights above Sea.
	°	′	″	°	′	″	Feet.
Kauore	24	25	43	74	18	35	1656
Kookreysur	24	28	50	75	22	15	1412
Kuchowlee	24	18	03	74	41	10	1397
Mhow	22	33	29.5	75	50	30	2019*
Mandoo	22	20	32	75	28	00	1944†
Mundissor	24	02	43	75	07	05	1452
Maunpoor	24	07	47	74	20	25	1414
Munnassa	24	28	49	75	14	40	1440
Moree	24	28	40	75	43	30	
Mahidpoor	23	29	26	75	45	40	1600
Nalcha	22	25	37	75	29	10	2022
Nolye, or Burnuggur	23	02	42.5	75	26	40	1698
Neemutch, Town of	24	27	10	75	00	00	
Ditto, Cantonments	24	27	51.4	75	78	45	1476
Odey Sagur Bund	24	34	17.5	73	52	20	2046‡
Odeypoor, City of	24	34	45.6	73	44	00	2064
Oojein	23	11	11	75	51	00	1698§
Pertaubghur	24	01	55	74	51	00	1698
Phoonga Tullao	24	03	19	74	38	50	1068
Rutlam	23	19	01	75	05	00	1577
Rampoora	24	27	33.5	75	32	25	1360
Sagore	22	36	04.5	75	41	30	1932
Soledew	24	06	22	74	26	25	750
Suloombur	24	08	11	74	09	20	876
Sadree (Burra)	24	24	55 5	74	30	30	1782
Sadree (Chota)	24	23	10	74	44	10	1968
Seeswee	24	32	18	73	59	25	1872
Shaize Gurh	-	-	-	-	-	-	2628‖
Baz Bahadur Chuttree	-	-	-	-	-	-	2070¶
Jaum Ghaut	22	23	00	75	49	10	2328**
Mundleysir	22	11	45	75	45	30	696††
Palace at Deybur	-	-	-	-	-	-	1260‡‡
Village of Beerpoor at Deybur	-	-	-	-	-	-	978§§

* Taken at the head-quarters of the British Cantonments.
† Taken at the Jumna Musjid.
‡ Taken at the top of the Bund or Dam.
§ Taken at the Bow Bukshee's Palace Great Bazar.
‖ Reckoned the highest peak in the Mandoo Range. [at Mandoo.
¶ A palace of the Moosulman Soobah, on the Crest of the Range
** Taken on the crest of the Ghaut near the small pagodas.
†† Deduced geometrically, not observed.
‡‡ On the top of the first lower range. §§ Close below the Bund.

No. III.

Meteorological Journal kept at Mundleysir, from the 1st to the 31st of July, 1820.

July 1820.	Hour.	Barometer.	Thermometer.	Wind.
1.	6 A.M.	29.104	82	W.
	8.40 A.M.	29.138	80½	W.
	11.30 A.M.	29.118	85½	W.
	3 15	29.062	89¼	W.
	6.15	29.054	88½	W.
2.	6.55 A.M.	29.088	84	W.
	8 A.M.	29.100	84½	W.
	Noon.	29.078	88	W.
	4 P.M.	28.992	90	W.
3.	7 A.M.	29.072	84¼	W.
	8 A.M.	29.080	84	W.
	Noon.	29.058	87	W.
	6.10 P.M.	28.990	89	W.
4.	6.40 A M.	29.056	86	W.
	8 A.M.	29.064	86¼	W.
	Noon.	29.024	87½	W.
	4 P.M.	28.924	88½	W.
	6 P.M.	28.938	89	W.
5.	7 A.M.	29.016	87½	W.
	9.30 A.M.	29.042	87½	
	Noon.	28.992	88½	
	4 P.M.	28.904	89	S.E.
6.	8.10 A.M.	29.040	87	
	12.20 P.M.	29.006	88	W.
	4 P.M.	28.924	88	
7.	8 A.M.	29.088	85½	
	Noon.	29.078	86	W.
	4 P.M.	29.004		
8.	9.20 A.M.	29.052	83	W.
	Noon.	29.006	84	W.
	4 P.M.	28.940	84	W.
9.	8 A.M.	29.958	82	W.
	Noon.	29.942	83	W.
	3.35	29.890	84	W.
	3.40	29.886	84	W.

July 1820.	Hour.	Barometer.	Thermometer.	Wind.
10.	8 A. M.	28.978	82	W.
	Noon.	28.990	81½	W.
	3.25	28.892	84	W.
11.	8 A.M.	29.088	81	W.
	9.50	29.100	81	S.W.
	Noon.	29.092	82	S.W.
	4 P.M.	29.022	84	S.W.
	4.45 P.M.	29.016	84	S.W.
12.	8 A.M.	29.138	81½	S.W.
	Noon.	29.132	82	W.
	4 P.M.	29.068	82½	W.
13.	8.15 A.M.	29.146	80½	W.
	12.40	29.126	83½	W.
16.	6.30	29.162	82	W.
	8 A.M.	29.160	82	W.
	4 P.M.	29.082	86	W.
17.	8 A.M.	29.129	81	W.
	4 P.M.	29.038	84½	W.
18.	8.30 A.M.	29.122	81	W.
	4.10	29.040	83	W.
19.	8 A.M.	29.162	82	W.
	11 A.M.	29.164	83	W.
30.	1 P.M.	29.204	83½	W.
	4 P.M.	29.156	88	W.
31.	Noon.	29.222	88½	W.
	4 P.M.	29.156	88	W.

Meteorological Journal kept at Mhow, for the Month of January 1821.

January 1821.	Hour.	Moon's Age.	Barometer.	Thermometer.	Wind.
1.	9	-	28.11	63	E.
	4	-	28.05	67	
2.	10	-	28.10	63½	W.
	4	-	28.05	70	W.
3.	9	-	28.045	62½	N.E.
	5	-	28.25	72	N.
	9	-	28.115	64	

January 1821.	Hour.	Moon's Age.	Barometer.	Thermometer.	Wind.
4.	9	○	28.14	61	None.
	5	-	28.10	68½	
	9	-	28.11	64	
5.	9	-	28.16	62½	S.E.
	12	-	28.18	70	S.
	5	-	28.14	70½	S.W.
	9	-	28.15	66	
6.	10	-	28.21	65	S.
	5	-	28.19	70	None.
	9	-	28.20	67	
7.	10	-	28.24	68	S.S.E.
	5	-	28.20	70	
	9	-	28.20	68	
8.	10	-	28.24	70	S.
	5	-	28.19	75	
	10	-	28.20	70	
9.	10	-	28.215	70½	W.
	5	-	28.15	75	
	9	-	28.16	69	
10.	10	-	28.18	68	
	5	-	28.11	73	W.
	10	-	28.13	69	
11.	10	☽	28.18	73½	S.
12.	10	-	28.18	74	S.W.
	5	-	28.15	76½	S.W.
	10	-	28.18	71½	
13.	10	-	28.15	71½	W.
	5	-	28.15	76½	S.W.
	10	-	28.17	70½	
14.	10	-	28.215	69	N.W.
	5	-	28.175	73	N.W.
	9	-	28.16	70	
15.	10	-	28 21	67	N.E.
	5	-	28.14	71¼	
	10	-	28.15	68	
16.	10	-	28.17	67	E.
	5	-	28.13	69½	N.E.
17.	10	-	28.195	65	E.
	5	-	28.11	69½	E.
	10	-	28.15	66½	
18.	10	●	28.13	68	
	5	-	28.15	61½	E.
	9	-	28.13	68	W.

January 1821.	Hour.	Moon's Age.	Barometer.	Thermometer.	Wind.
19.	10	-	28.20	62	N.
	5	-	28.15	66	
	9	-	28.19	64	
20.	10	-	28.15	64	N.E.
	5	-	28.11	69	
	10	-	28.12	65½	
21.	10	-	28.05	63	N.E.
	5	-	28.05	69½	E.
22.	10	-	28.15	66	E.
	5	-	28.09	69	E.
	10	-	28.08	67	
23.	12	-	28.10	71	S.
	9	-	28.06	68	
24.	5	-	28.05	72	
	9	-	28.08	69	
25.	10	-	28.15	70	S.
	5	-	28.08	73	S.W.
	10	-	28.10	69	
26.	10	☾	28.15	72½	S.
	5	-	28.11	77	
	10	-	28.13	71	
27.	10	-	28.19	74	S.
	5	-	28.12	76	
	10	-	28.15	71	
28.	12	-	28.18	74½	S.
	5	-	28.09	79	N.W.
	10	-	28.11	71	
29.	10	-	28.14	72	E.
	5	-	28.08	76	N.
30.	10	-	28.11	69	N.W.
	5	-	28.14	73	W.N.W.
	10	-	28.06	78	W.N.W.
31.	10	-	28.09	66	N.W.
	5	-	28.02	73	
	10	-	28.03	66	

No. IV.

Agricultural Details of Twenty-five Begahs, taken from the Accounts of Nalcha, a village in the Principality of Dhar.

KHUREEF CROP—10 BEGAHS.

Expenses.

		Rs.	As.
12½ Seer of Jowarry Seed for	5 Begahs - -	1	4
7½ ditto Oorud ditto,	1 ditto - -	0	12
7½ ditto Moong ditto,	1 ditto - -	0	12
1¼ ditto Til ditto, -	½ ditto - -	0	2
1¼ ditto Toowur ditto,	½ ditto - -	0	4
3 ditto Chowrah ditto,	½ ditto - -	0	2
30 ditto Flax ditto, -	1 ditto - -	1	0
10 ditto Cotton ditto,	½ ditto - -	0	4
Weeding - - - - - -		8	8
Hackery (a species of cart) hire for harvest home and labour - - - - -		3	8

Village Expenses and Establishment; viz.

Dues to the Potail, Putwarry, Bullaye, Carpenter, Lohar, Barber, Washerman, Shoemaker and Havildar, who, though always paid in kind, are here calculated to receive equal to - - -	12	12
Iron for ploughs, ropes, and labour - -	8	0
Government Tax, at 2 rupees per Begah -	20	0
Total Expense	57	4

Receipts.

Sale of 2¼ Maunds of Jowarry - - -	35	0
ditto 3 ditto Oorud - - - -	6	0
ditto 3 ditto Moong - - - -	6	12
ditto 1 ditto Oil, &c. of Til - - -	3	0
ditto 1½ ditto Toowur - - - -	3	0
ditto 1 ditto Chowrah - - - -	2	0
ditto 3 ditto Flax - - - -	7	8
ditto 2 ditto Seed of ditto - - -	3	0
ditto 1 ditto Cotton - - - -	6	0
Nett Produce -	72	4
Deduct Charges -	57	4
Nett Profit of the Ryot	15	0

RUBBEE CROP—10 BEGAHS.

Expenses.			Rs.	As.
1½ Maunds of Gram for	2 Begahs	- -	4	10
3 ditto and 30 seers of Wheat	5 ditto	- -	11	8
7½ ditto Barley - -	½ ditto	- -	0	8
7½ ditto Musoor -	½ ditto	- -	0	10
7⅛ ditto Peas - -	½ ditto	- -	0	9
3¼ ditto Linseed -	½ ditto	- -	0	5
15 ditto Koosm -	1 ditto	- -	1	4
Village expenses and establishment, calculated at		-	22	13
Harvest home and Washing - -		-	2	12
Government Land Tax, at 2 rupees per Begah		-	20	0
	Total Expense		64	15

Receipts.			
Sale of 6 Maunds of Gram - -	-	16	0
ditto 15 ditto Wheat - - -	-	40	0
ditto 4 ditto Barley - - -	-	15	0
ditto 2 ditto Musoor - - -	-	4	0
ditto 2 ditto Peas - - -	-	4	0
ditto 1½ ditto Linseed - - -	-	4	8
ditto 7½ ditto Koosm - - -	-	7	8
Nett Produce	-	91	0
Deduct Expenses	-	64	15
Nett Profit	-	26	1

GARDEN LANDS—5 BEGAHS.

Expenses.

OPIUM.

1¼ Seer of Poppy Seed for 1 Begah	-	0	9
Weeding - - - - - -	-	6	0
Manure - - - - - -	-	2	0
Hire of 4 men for watching, &c -	-	12	0
Extracting the Opium - - -	-	4	0
Village establishment - - -	-	1	8
Government Land Tax, at 7½ rupees per Begah	-	7	8
Total		33	9

SUGAR-CANE.

Canes sufficient for 1 Begah - -	-	24	0
Leathern bucket for drawing water -	-	5	0
Rope - - - - - -	-	1	0
Iron - - - - - -	-	0	8
Two men for watching fields - -	-	6	0
Hemp ropes - - - -	-	0	8
Carried forward		37	0

	Rs.	As.
Brought forward	37	0
Manure	2	0
Hire of men, weeding, and planting	9	0
Fences	2	0
Labour for pressing juice	2	8
Cutting Canes for planting	1	0
Clearing ditto of leaves	3	0
Iron pot for boiling juice	2	8
Fire-wood	1	0
Hackery hire	1	0
Watering the field	6	0
Village dues	6	9
Government Land Tax, at 7½ rupees per Begah	7	8
Total	81	1

RICE.

4¼ Seers of Paddy for 1 Begah	2	0
Watering 3, Weeding 4, Manure 2–8	9	8
Village establishment	1	8
Government Land Tax	4	0
Total	17	0

INDIAN CORN.

20 Seers of Indian Corn for 2 Begahs	2	0
Watering and cutting	6	0
Weeding 6, and manure 4 Rs.	10	0
Village establishment	3	0
Government Land Tax	10	0
Total	31	0
Total Expense	162	10

Receipts.

* Sale of 2½ seers of Opium, at 16 rupees each seer	40	0
ditto Poppy Seed	4	0
ditto 4½ maunds of coarse Sugar	84	8
ditto 9 ditto Rice	24	0
ditto 24 ditto Indian Corn	48	0
Nett Produce	200	8
Deduct Expenses	162	10
Nett Profit of the Ryot	37	14
Total profit of the Ryot during the whole year	78	15

* Opium has attained this extravagant price within the last three years: its usual rate was 5 and 6 rupees the seer.

No. V.

Expenses, &c. of cultivating One Begah of Sugar-Cane, for a good, a tolerable, and a bad Season.

Expenses.	Rs.	As.
3 Biswas * of Bat or Sugar-cane cuttings - -	25	0
Interest on 25 rs. at 24 per cent. per annum -	6	0
Hire of men for planting and scraping - -	5	0
Man for watering 8 months, at 3 each month, -	24	0
Cutting and paring at the rate of 1 rupee for twelve thousand, on a calculation of thirty thousand canes to a begah, - - - -	2	8
Cutting Canes to pieces and giving fuel to furnace, two men for ten days, - - - -	4	0
Oil for working at night, - - - -	1	9
Hire of an iron vessel for 10 days, at 3 annas per day,	1	14
A suit of clothes for the man who puts the canes into the Mill - - - - -	1	8
A pair of shoes - - - - -	0	8
A man for driving the Bullocks at the mill -	1	0
Carpenter at 2½ Kutcha or small seers, for ten days. Koomar, Hukdars and village Chumar, Barber, village Carpenter, Iron Smith 2¼ each for ten days. 3 maunds 3 seer. Proprietor of the wooden part of the Mill, hire for ten days at 2½ seers, 25 seers. Dues to the Proprietor of the stone mill at 2½ seers Kutcha for ten days, 25 seers, - - -	11	4
5 Hackeries of wood for fire - - -	2	8
Dues of Circar (Government) - - -	4	4
Hire of Ploughs - - - - -	2	3
Total Expenses,	93	2

Receipts.

Good Year.		
5 Maunees † or 60 Maunds Goor Kutcha, at 27 rs. per Maunee, - - - - -	135	0
Deduct expenses - - - - -	93	2
Total Profit of a Begah	41	14

* A Biswa is the twentieth part of a Begah, and the latter is very nearly one half of an acre, if we reckon the Guz at twenty-eight inches.

† A Maunee is twelve Maunds.

	Rs.	As.
TOLERABLE YEAR.		
If an indifferent year, 4 Maunees of Goor at 27 rs. each	108	0
Deduct expenses - - - - -	93	2
Total Profit -	14	14
BAD YEAR.		
If a very bad year, 2½ Maunees at 27 rs. - -	67	8
Expenses - - - - -	93	2
Loss to the Ryot	25	10

IN THE PUNJ MAHAL OF GODRA.*

Expenses.	Babashy† Rs.	As.
Canes sufficient for one Begah, - - -	37	8
20 Cart-loads of Manure, - - -	10	0
2½ Maunds of Khul‡, - - - -	10	0
Leather bucket and rope, - - -	10	0
Hire of labourers for planting and weeding -	30	0
Two men for labouring at the well and afterwards at the press, one at 4 rs. per month, and the other at 3 ditto, for 8 months, - - -	56	0
Hukdars of the village, altogether 3 maunds of Goor,	9	0
Rent to the Circar - - - -	22	0
Iron boiler and fire-wood, - - -	5	0
Total Expense	189	8

Receipts.		
If a plentiful harvest, 93 maunds of Goor, at 3 per maund, - - - - -	279	0
If an indifferent harvest, 83 ditto - - -	249	0
If a very bad harvest, 63 ditto ditto - -	189	0

The cultivator's profit is 90 rupees in a good season, 60 in an indifferent, and in a bad year the expenses are just paid.

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* In the Punj Mahal of GODRA, Sugar-cane ground pays a much higher rent; but it is to be remarked that the Begah is much larger than that of Malwa, and the agriculture is said to be superior.

† The Babashy or Baroda Rupee is eight per cent. less in value than the Oojein.

‡ The Khul above-mentioned is the stalk of the oil plant, which, after the oil has been expressed, is used to line the bottom of the trench or channel through which the water passes from the well into the cane-field.

No. VI.

Expenses, &c. of cultivating One Begah of Opium, for a good, a tolerable, and a bad Season.

Expenses.

	Rs.	As.
5 Seers of Opium Seed - - - -	0	9
Manure, including conveyance - - -	2	0
Expenses of watching the crops - - -	4	0
Weeding, ploughing, sowing, &c. - - -	6	0
Gathering the Opium, and wounding the poppies -	4	0
Watering the fields nine times - - -	6	0
Oil for putting the juice of the poppy in when scraped	1	0
Rent to the Circar (Government) - - -	6	0
Total Expense	29	9

Receipts.

Good Year.

5 Seers Pucka - - - - -	40	0
Sale of Seed, 3 maunds, - - - -	4	0
	44	0
Deduct Expenses	29	9
	14	7
Deduct Village Dues	1	8
Nett Profit to the Ryot	12	15

Tolerable Year.

7½ Seers Kutcha - - - - -	30	0
Sale of Seed - - - - -	2	11
	32	11
Deduct Expenses	31	1
Nett Profit to the Ryot	1	10

BAD YEAR.		
5 Seers Kutcha are sometimes the whole produce, -	20	0
Seed sold for - - - - - -	2	0
Loss to the Ryot - - - - -	9	1
Total Expenses	31	1

Opium, as well as other produce, in a bad season must sell dearer than in a tolerable one, and dearer in a tolerable than in a good one. The Ryot's profit and loss cannot, therefore, be correctly estimated in tables where one price of sale has been adopted throughout; because it is difficult to calculate the fluctuation which arises from the state of crop and demand.

No. VII.

Weights, Touch, and Comparative Value of the Malwa Rupees with that of Furruckabad.

Table of Coins.	Actual Weight. Grs.	Touch.	Fixed Exchange per 100 Furkd. Rupees.*
Oojein Rupee - -	173,56	94	100
Indore do. - - -	173,2	93	100
Bhopal do. - - -	168,75	89	109
Pertaubghur do. - -	163,6	60,85	122
Bhilsa do. - - -	167,5	82,83	111
Gunj Bussowda do. -	...	...	113
Jewry do. - - -	168,5	82,20	115
Kotah do. - - -	175,5	91,36	...
Odeypoor do. - -	167,5	71,6	...
Chandore do. - -	170,15	91,5	...

N.B. The Furruckabad rupee contains:—165,220 pure grains, 7,780 alloy grains, 173 grains gross weight, 23,07d. sterling value.

* This applies only to the exchange price for the payment of our troops. The comparative value of the coins in the market fluctuates daily.

No. VIII.

Weights and Measures in the principal Towns of Central India, and Comparison with English Weights.

Goldsmith's Weight.

8 Chawl or Rice grains	make	1 Ruttee,
8 Ruttees, - - -		1 Massa,
12 Massas, - - -		1 Tolah.

By this, gold, silver, jewels, &c. are weighed, and are invariably the same.

The Tolah weighs one hundred and ninety grains Troy.

INDORE WEIGHTS.

Purchase by 84 Oojein rupees,		1 Seer.
Sell 82 ditto,	-	1 ditto.
5 Seers, -	-	1 Pusseree or Dhurree.
20 Seers, -	-	1 Maund.
12 Maunds, or 240 Seers,		1 Maunee.

As the Oojein rupee weighs 174.88 grains Troy, the relative English weights may be easily ascertained by this and the succeeding Tables.

DEWASS.

80 Oojein rupees, - -	-	1 Seer,
4½ Seers, - - -	-	1 Dhurree,
16½ Seers, - - -	-	1 Maund,
12 Maunds, or 198 Seers,	-	1 Maunee.

OOJEIN.

80 Rupees Oojein, - -	-	1 Seer,
5⅝ Seers, - - -	-	1 Dhurree,
16⅞ Seers, - - -	-	1 Maund,
12 Maunds, or 202½ Seers,	-	1 Maunee.

NOLYE WEIGHTS.

80	Oojein rupees, - - -	1 Seer,
5	Seers, - - - -	1 Dhurree,
20	Seers, - - - -	1 Maund,
12	Maunds, or 240 Seers,	- 1 Maunee.

RUTLAM.

Buy by 84	Salim Shye rupees, -	- 1 Seer,
Sell by 80	- - - -	1 Seer,
5	Seers, - - -	1 Dhurree,
20	Seers, - - -	1 Maund,
12	Maunds, or 240 Seers,	- 1 Maunee.

Spices, Beetle, &c. &c. sell by a seer of 79 rupees weight. The Salim Shye rupee ought to weigh 168,75 grains Troy.

MUNDISSOR.

92	Salim Shye rupees, -	- 1 Seer,
4	Seers, - - - -	1 Dhurree,
15	Seers, - - - -	1 Maund,
12	Maunds, or 180 Seers,	- 1 Maunee.

KOTAH.

30	Kotah rupees, - - -	1 Seer,
5	Seers, - - - -	1 Dhurree,
40	Seers, - - - -	1 Maund,
12	Maunds, or 480 Seers,	- 1 Maunee.

The Kotah rupee weighs 174.8 grains Troy.

MEASURE.

48	Pice, - - - -	1 Pye,
18	Pye, - - - -	1 Seyn,
20	Seyn, - - - -	1 Maunee.

The Kotah Pice, on which this is founded, weighs eighteen Massah or 276.6 grains Troy, and the Pye measure ought to contain as much grain as will amount in weight to the above number of Pice.

PERTAUBGHUR WEIGHTS.

Goldsmith's Weight.

6	Chawls or Rice grains, - -	1 Ruttee,
8	Ruttees, - - -	1 Massah,
12	Massahs, - - -	1 Tolah.

Common Measure.

80	Salim Shye rupees, - -	1 Seer,
5	Seers, - - - -	1 Dhurree,
20	Seers, - - - -	1 Maund,
12	Maunds, - - -	1 Maunee.

DOONGURPOOR.

52	Salim Shye rupees, - -	1 Seer,
10	Seers, - - - -	1 Dhurree,
40	Seers, - - - -	1 Maund,
12	Maunds, - - -	1 Maunee.

BANSWARRA.

84	Salim Shye rupees, - -	1 Seer,
5	Seers, - - - -	1 Dhurree,
20	Seers, - - - -	1 Maund,
12	Maunds, - - -	1 Maunee.

BHOPAL.

80	Bhopal rupees, - -	1 Seer.
6¼	Seers, - - - -	1 Pusseree,
40	Pusserees, - - -	1 Maunee,
100	Maunees, - - -	1 Maniasa.

BHILSA, TOWN OF.

80	Bhilsa rupees, - - -	1 Seer,
6	Seers, - - - -	1 Pusseree,
48	Seers, or 8 Pusserees, - -	1 Maund,
30	Pusserees, or 3¾ Maunds, -	1 Maunee,
100	Maunees - - -	1 Maniasa.

SERONGE WEIGHTS.

80	Seronge Rupees, - -	1 Seer,
6¼	Seers, - - - -	1 Pusseree,
4	Pusserees, - - -	1 Maund,
32	Pusserees, or 8 Maunds, -	1 Maunce,
100	Maunees, - - -	1 Maniasa.

OMUTWARRA.

81	Rupees, - - -	1 Seer,
3½	Seers, - - - -	1 Pusseree,
7	Seers, or 2 Pusserees, -	1 Dhurree,
4	Dhurrees, - - -	1 Maund,
8	Maunds, - - -	1 Maunee,
100	Maunees, - - -	1 Maniasa.

BAIRSEEAH.

80	Bhopal Rupees, - -	1 Seer,
5	Seers, - - - -	1 Pusseree,
8	Pusserees, - - -	1 Maund,
32	Pusserees, or 4 Maunds, -	1 Maunee,
100	Maunees, - - -	1 Maniasa.

SHUJAHALPOOR.

80	Boondee Rupees, - -	1 Seer,
3½	Seers, - - - -	1 Pusseree,
2	Pusserees, - - -	1 Dhurree,
4	Dhurrees, or 28 Seers, -	1 Maund,
8	Maunds, - - -	1 Maunee,
100	Maunees, - - -	1 Maniasa.

The above Tables were framed from Native information. The following is the result of a Comparison made by Captain Dangerfield of the Indore weights, with a correct English standard.

The Seer consists of 82 Hallee or current* Rs. weighing - - -		*lb.*	*oz.*	*dr.*	*gr.*
		2	1	3	00
2½ Seers, or half a Pusseree	205 rs.	5	0	7	30
5 ditto, or Kuranah Pusseree	410 rs.	10	0	15	00
5 ditto and 10 rs. or Grain Puss.	420 rs.	10	5	1	40

* The Oojein, Indore, and Mhysir Rupees, though differing a little in intrinsic, have the same current value, and are included in the term Hallee, which means "at present," or "current."

The small or Kuranah (dry goods) Pusseree is that by which every thing is sold in the Bazaar. But the Bunniah (or retail merchant) purchases his grain by the large or grain Pusseree. The Maund for grain consists only of 20 Seers or 4 Pusserees, but the Maund for Kuranah, as opium, ghee, spices, oil, and the like, is 40 Seers or 8 Pusserees.

	lb.	*oz.*	*dr.*	*gr.*
Therefore the Grain Maund must weigh, -	41	4	6	40
And the Opium and Kuranah Maund, -	80	7	8	00

The weights used for dry goods generally differ from those for grain, salt, &c. and even the latter are often not the same throughout a district, as those in use in the principal town which gives it its name. For instance the dry goods weights in the town of Bhilsa are as follows.—

80 Bhilsa Rupees make -	- 1 Seer,
5 Seers, - -	- 1 Pusseree,
8 Pusserees, -	- 1 Maund.

And again, grain, salt, &c. are bought and sold, throughout the Pergunnah, by measurement (not by weight) agreeably to the following Table, which differs essentially from that given above as the standard town weights:

40 Rupees make -	- 1 Paee,
10 Paees . -	- 1 Koora,
8 Kooras -	- 1 Maund,
4 Maunds -	- 1 Maunee.

The Pusseree is literally Punj Seer, or five Seers. But from alteration in the weight of the rupee (a certain number of which form the seer,) and other causes, the Pusseree frequently consists of more than five seers. Indeed, the seer weight has been often changed in like manner. The knowledge of such variations in the fixed weight of particular towns and districts, will in a great degree account for the varieties of weights and measures at present in use throughout Central India.

No. IX.

Average Rates of Insurance for three periods of the last twenty-five years in Central India.*

From	To	Merchandize.	Insurance 25 years ago.	Insurance during the troubles in Malwa for the last 20 years.	Insurance A. D. 1820.
Indore - -	Chittore -	Cloths - -	10 annas p^{r} cent.	No traffic	- No traffic.
Ditto - -	Jawud - -	Ditto - -		ditto	- ditto.
Ditto - -	Ditto - -	Tobacco -	6 4 8 do.	ditto	- ditto.
Bheelwarra & Sauganeer	Indore - -	Cloths - -	12 annas	ditto	- ditto.
Ditto - -	Ditto - -	Tobacco -	8 ditto	ditto	- ditto.
Malwa - -	Jehanpoor -	Ditto - -	10 ditto	ditto	- ditto.
Indore - -	Mundissor -	Cloths - -	8 ditto	2½ rupees	10 annas.
Ditto - -	Rutlam - -	Ditto - -	6 ditto	2 ditto	6 ditto.
Ditto - -	Ditto - -	Kuranah	4 ditto	1½ ditto	4 ditto.
Ditto - -	Katchrode -	Cloths - -	6 ditto	1½ ditto	4 ditto.
Ditto - -	Ditto - -	Kuranah -	4 ditto	1¼ ditto	3 ditto.
Kotah - -	Indore - -	Cloths - -	1½ ditto	4 and 5 ditto	14 ditto.
Indore - -	Kotah - -	Opium - -	1¼ rupees	4 ditto	14 ditto.
Jeypoor - -	Indore - -	Cloths, &c. -	2 ditto	6 ditto	1½ to 1¾ rupees.
Malwa - -	Jeypoor - -	Silver, money, and bullion	1¼ ditto	3½ to 4 rs.	- No traffic.
Ditto - -	Ditto - -	Gold - -	1 rupee	2½ rupees	6 to 8 annas.
Ditto - -	Ditto - -	Jewels, pearls, &c. - -	12 annas	1¼ ditto	6 annas per cent.; but since the late robbery near Oojein, 1 rupee per cent.

Shujahalpoor,	Indore	Cloth	1 rupee	2 to 2½ rupees	6 annas.
Ashta	Ditto	Ditto	1½ ditto	2½ to 3 ditto.	8 ditto.
Mhysir	Ditto	Ditto	6 annas	3½ to 3¼ do.	4 ditto.
Ditto	Ditto	Silver	3 ditto	1½ to 2 do.	3 ditto.
Oojein	Ditto	Cloth	3 ditto	1½ to 2 do.	3 ditto.
Ditto	Ditto	Silver	2 ditto	12 to 16 as.	
Indore	Ahmedabad, Baroda, & Broach	Opium & cloth	12 as. to 1 r. per cent.	3 to 6 rupees per cent.	12 to 14 annas per cent.
Ditto	Guzerat	Coins and bullion	2 rupees	3 to 4 rupees	1 to 1½ rupee.
Ditto	Ditto	Gold Mohurs	1¼ ditto	2 to 2½ ditto	1 rupee.
Surat	Indore	Pearls and precious stones	1½ ditto	2½ ditto	14 to 16 annas.
Indore	Poona	Cloths	1¼ ditto	4 to 6 ditto	No traffic.
Ditto	Ditto	Opium	No traffic	No traffic	110 rs. per load of 2¾ maunds weight. This includes insurance, hire, and all charges, which the Bunniahs take upon themselves.
Poona	Malwa	Money and silver bullion	12 as. per ct.	3½ per cent.	2 to 2½ rs. per cent.
Naniaupoor	Ditto	Cloths	2 to 2½ rupees	5 to 7 rupees	2½ rupees.
Malwa	Hydrabad	Opium	1½ ditto	8 to 10 ditto	95 rupees on the load of 2¾ maunds, including expenses of transit.
Oomrawuttee	Malwa	Cloths, Kuranahs	8 to 10 annas	4 and 5 ditto	1 to 1½ rupees.
Hydrabad	Ditto	Silver and gold coin and bullion	10 ditto	3½ ditto	silver 3; gold 1½, including charges.

* On reference to the books of several Insurance Companies, the rates were found to differ slightly, and to be affected not only by the times, but by the spirit of the insurer, and confidence of the merchants, who gave higher premium to those of whose prompt payment in case of loss they were assured.

Average Rates of Insurance, continued.

From	To	Merchandize.	Insurance 25 years ago.	Insurance during the trouble in Malwa for the last 20 years.	Insurance A. D. 1820.
Jaulnah - -	Indore - -	Cloths - -	2 rupees	5 ditto	1¼ to 1½ rupee.
Ditto - -	Ditto - -	Silver - -	1 ditto	3 ditto	1½ rs. including transit charges.
Ditto - -	Ditto - -	Gold pagodas	No traffic	1½ ditto	12 annas, ditto.
Berhampoor	Ditto - -	Cloths - -	12 annas	3½ ditto	12 annas.
Ditto - -	Ditto - -	Silver money and bullion -	8 ditto	2 ditto	8 annas, including transit.
Mirzapoor, Mhow, and Ghansi -	Ditto - -	Cloths - -	1½ to 2 rupees	5 to 6 ditto	1¾ rupees.
Ditto - -	Ditto - -	Kuranahs -	1¼ to 1½ rs.	5 ditto	1¼ to 1½ ditto.
Chanderee and Bundelcund	Ditto - -	Cloths - -	2 rupees	6 ditto	2 to 2¼ ditto.
Indore - -	Bhopal - -	Kuranahs -	1¼ ditto	3½ ditto	1¼ to 1½ ditto.
Seronge - - -	Indore - -	Cloths - -	1¾ ditto	4 ditto	1½ to 2 ditto.
Indore - -	Palce in Malwa	Cloths and Kuranahs	12 as. to 1 rup.	No traffic	- No traffic.
Ditto - -	Odeypoor -	Cloth - -	14 annas	ditto	- ditto.
Ditto - -	Ditto - -	Kuranahs -	10 ditto	ditto	- ditto.

N. B. Jewels and gold being portable, pay least to the insurer. Silver is also comparatively low. Cloth, opium, Kuranah or dry goods, including spices, medicinal drugs, dried fruit, and every article of this description, except salt and grain, are insured at the same rate.

Rates of Insurance in Pertaubghur.*

From	To	Rate of Insurance for every hundred of their value.		
		Rs.	As.	Ps.
Pertaubghur	Kotah - -	0	14	0
,,	Baroda - -	1	8	0
,,	Ahmedabad -	2	0	0
,,	Boorhanpoor -	2	4	0
,,	Surat - -	2	0	0
,,	Jeypoor - -	1	8	0
,,	Pallee - -	1	4	0
,,	Ajmeer - -	1	8	0
,,	Kishenghur -	1	8	0
,,	Rutlam - -	0	10	0
,,	Odeypoor by the Jewur route	1	0	0
,,	Doolapanee ditto	1	4	0
,,	Indore - -	1	4	0
,,	Doongurpoor -	1	4	0
,,	Loonewanee -	1	4	0
,,	Banswarra - -	0	10	0

* In Pertaubghur the rates of insurance are the same on all articles of traffic, and vary only according to the distance; for instance, all articles proceeding from Pertaubghur to Oojein pay one rupee in each hundred of their value.

No. X.

Hire and Duty Rates between Malwa and other Provinces.

From	To	Names and Description of Articles.	Amount of Articles.	Carts or Bullocks.	Rate of Hire.	Rate of Duty.
					Rs.	Rs.
Indore - -	Baroche -	Opium and cloth	1200 seers -	Cart with 2 bullocks	60	60
Ditto - -	Ditto - -	Ditto - -	120 ditto -	Bullock -	17	10
Ditto - -	Ditto - -	Kuranah * or dry goods	1200 ditto -	Cart with 4 bullocks	60	25
Ditto - -	Ditto - -	Ditto - -	120 ditto -	Bullock -	17	9
Ditto - -	Baroda -	Opium and cloth	1200 ditto -	Cart - -	50	50
Ditto - -	Ditto - -	Ditto - -	120 ditto -	Bullock -	15	14
Ditto - -	Ditto - -	Kuranah -	1200 ditto -	Cart, &c. -	50	20
Ditto - -	Ditto - -	Ditto - -	120 ditto -	Bullock -	15	7
Ditto - -	Chota - Odeypoor -	Opium and cloth	1200 ditto -	Cart - -	40	40
Ditto - -	Ditto - -	Ditto - -	120 ditto -	Bullock -	15	12
Ditto - -	Ditto - -	Kuranah -	1200 ditto -	Cart - -	40	16
Ditto - -	Ditto - -	Ditto - -	120 ditto -	Bullock -	15	5
Ditto - -	Oomrawuttee	Opium - -	90 ditto -	ditto - -	25	including duty.

Oomrawuttee	Indore	Cloth	120 seers	Bullock	24	including duty.
Ditto	Ditto	Kuranah	120 ditto	ditto	18	ditto.
Indore	Hoshungabad	Opium	90 ditto	ditto	35	ditto.
Ditto	Ditto	Cloth	120 ditto	ditto	40	ditto.
Hohungabad	Indore					
Ditto	Ditto	Kuranah	120 ditto	ditto	30	ditto.
Indore	Hydrabad	Opium	90 ditto	ditto	50	ditto.
Ditto	Ditto	Cloth	120 ditto	ditto	54	ditto.
Hydrabad	Indore					
Ditto	Ditto	Kuranah	120 ditto	ditto	45	ditto.
Jhansee	Ditto	Cloth	120 ditto	ditto	15	ditto.
Ditto	Ditto	Kuranah	120 ditto	ditto	10	ditto.
Kotah	Ditto	Cloth	110 ditto	ditto	13½	ditto.
Ditto	Ditto	Kuranah	110 ditto	ditto	12½	ditto.
Indore	Kotah	Opium	110 ditto	ditto	31	ditto.
Ditto	Oomrawuttee	Horses	—	—	15	each horse.
Ditto	Ditto	Camels	—	—	12	each
Ditto	Boorhanpoor	Ditto	—	—	10	each
Ditto	Ditto	Horses	—	—	11	each
Rutlam	Indore	Opium	20 seers	—	1½	including duty.
Nolye	Ditto	Ditto	20 ditto	—	1	ditto.

* This term implies all articles, drugs, spices, dried fruit, &c. &c. except grain.

No. XI.

Duties on Goods imported into the Principalities of Doongurpoor and Banswarra.

DOONGURPOOR.

	Rs.	As.
Per load of Kuranah, or dry goods, such as cotton, silks, ghee, oil, gums, bees-wax, tobacco, sugar-candy, being 143 rupees upon every hundred load of these articles - - -	1	7
Per load of opium and broad cloth, or 518 rs. 12 for every hundred load - - -	5	3
Per load of salt and grain - - -	0	2
Ditto ivory and indigo, or for every hundred load, 918. 12 - - - - -	9	3
Ditto ditto of Kutcha iron - - -	0	10
Ditto Pucka iron - - - -	1	3

Sookrie of one anna each load is levied.

Brinjarries, being natives of Bagur and Malwa, pay as follows:

Per one hundred load of salt - -	13	0
Ditto goor - - - - -	25	0
Ditto grain - - - - -	13	0
Per load of opium - - - -	3	3
Ditto cottons and silks - - -	1	7
Ditto Kuranah, or dry goods - -	0	11
Ditto ivory - - - - -	9	3
Ditto ghee, oil, tobacco, copper - -	0	11
Per one hundred load of iron - -	21	8
Ditto awl - - - - -	30	0

To the renter of customs one rupee for every Kafila, of whatever number. One for Moolakat, or meeting, and eight annas Sookrie (or morning repast) for every hundred loads.

BANSWARRA.

	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Kuranah, or dry goods, per load -	0	11	0
Cottons of all kinds - - -	2	0	0
Silks, broad cloth, opium, and ivory -	4	8	0
Tobacco - - - -	0	11	0
Cotton - - - -	0	10	0
Ghee and oil - - - -	1	0	0
Salt, per hundred load - -	14	0	0

Imports from Malwa, whether sold in the district, or passing through.

	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Coarse cottons, per bullock - -	2	0	0
Boorhanpoor and Chandeer cotton -	3	8	0
Shahjehanpoor cottons - -	3	4	0
Brass and copper - - -	1	4	0
Opium - - - -	4	8	0
Grain - - - -	0	2	6
Ghee and oil - - -	1	0	0
Kuranah and tobacco - -	0	11	0
Cotton - - - -	0	10	0

Exports, being the produce of the district, wherever carried.

Ghee and oil, per load - -	1	0	0
Rice - - - -	0	3	0
Gums, ginger, Chey, Singhar flowers, hides and iron, &c. - - -	0	10	0
Honey and bees-wax - -	1	4	0

•N. B. When the duties are paid, a pass is given; the Nakadars, or men posted at Nakas, or passes, fords, &c. seize all who have not one; and these persons, who act as watchmen, levy a duty of one anna and a half per cent. indiscriminately on every loaded bullock. A small duty for protection is also levied on merchandize by the Thakoors, or lords, through whose estates they pass.

When an inhabitant of the city of Pertaubghur introduces opium into it, he pays the following taxes :

	Rs.	As.	Ps.
To Government, for every 20 seers -	0	11	3
To the Kamdar - - -	0	1	0
Total -	0	12	3

Poor cultivators, (being also old inhabitants) who bring opium in small quantities in pots into the city, only pay

	Rs.	As.	Ps.
To Government - - -	0	4	6
To the Kamdar - - -	0	1	0
Total -	0	5	6

If sold in the city, these persons give five rupees' weight for every twenty seers ; and if carried out again, farther taxes are levied, making the whole amount to four rupees two annas and a half per bullock load. And other subjects pay, in carrying opium through the town, about four annas additional per bullock load.

Foreigners passing opium through the town are taxed in an amount of five rupees four annas and a half per Pothee, or bullock load.

After the Dewally, inhabitants of the city only are taxed higher, but in a very trifling degree.

Cloths, spices, silks, grain, &c. &c. carried to, sold in, or passing through Pertaubghur, are taxed according to their respective value, and with reference to the merchants being inhabitants of the city, other subjects of the district, or foreigners. There are likewise about fifteen other places in the district, at which light duties for transit and protection are levied.

No. XII.

Abstract of the Gross Revenues of Territories in Central India for A. D. 1819, *and their estimated Increase for A. D.* 1824.

Names of Princes and Chiefs.	Revenue A. D. 1819.	Estimated amount in 1824.	Remarks.
Dowlet Row Sindia	1,27,68,459 0 0	1,43,20,227 0 0	A calculation of 15 per cent. has been made as the likely increase of Sindia's territories; but this is, no doubt, below what continued peace will raise them to in five years.
Mulhar Row Holkar	17,96,183 0 0	27,41,739 0 0	Holkar's revenue is taken, for A. D. 1819, from an account furnished by the minister, and a lac of rupees added for Sayer, or customs. The estimate for A. D. 1824 is from an account of the revenue in Alia Bhye's time, and 1½ lac of rupees added for duties. Tantia Jogh expects, with continued peace, that the revenue will reach this last amount within five years, and will exceed it much when the population increases.
The Puars of Dhar	2,67,004 0 0	6,54,412 0 0	The calculation of the revenue of Dhar for A. D. 1819 is made from papers furnished by the minister. The amount for A. D. 1824 is from documents in the time of Anund Row Puar, and from estimate. One lac of rupees per annum has been calculated as the probable increase of duties. The revenues of this principality will in ten or fifteen years, when it recovers its full population, be much increased.

Gross Revenues of Territories in Central India, continued.

Names of Princes and Chiefs.	Revenue A. D. 1819.	Estimated amount in 1824.	Remarks.
The Puars of Dewass	1,09,375 0 0	6,00,000 0 0	The calculation of the revenue of Dewass for A. D. 1819, and the estimated amount for A. D. 1824, is founded on similar data and principles with that of Dhar.
British Government -	2,18,297 0 0	3,68,297 0 0	The amount for A. D. 1819 includes the annual payment of 10,000 rupees for arrears of tribute from Doongurpoor and Banswarra. One lac and fifty thousand rupees have been given as the certain increase of the tribute and the territorial possessions of Eastern Shujahalpoor, and of those on the Nerbudda. According to calculations of the officers under whom these districts are, it will be greater.
Raja of Kotah - -	47,25,000 0 0	47,25,000 0 0	The revenues of the Prince of Kotah are calculated to be as high now as they are likely to be five years hence.
Bhopal - - - -	9,00,000 0 0	20,00,000 0 0	The calculation of the Bhopal revenue has been made without any very correct data; but it is certainly, both as to the receipts of A. D. 1819 and the estimate of A. D. 1824, underrated. This principality will, when its population is restored, have a revenue of, at least, thirty-five lacs of rupees.

Nawaub Ameer Khan	6,00,000	0	0	10,00,000	0	0	The calculations of increase, within five years, of all these chiefs, are made on a comparison of a number of documents relative to each petty State.
Nawaub Ghuffoor Khan	5,00,000	0	0	7,00,000	0	0	
Raja of Rutlam - -	4,03,275	0	0	5,50,000	0	0	
Raja of Sillanah - -	1,11,825	0	0	2,00,000	0	0	
Raja of Pertaubghur	2,84,313	0	0	4,90,000	0	0	
Rawul of Doongurpoor	2,43,580	0	0	2,52,128	0	0	
Rawul of Banswarra -	2,49,438	0	0	5,00,000	0	0	
Raja of Lunawarra -	40,437	0	0	80,000	0	0	
Raja of Amjherra -	40,000	0	0	1,00,000	0	0	
Raja of Jabooah - -	50,000	0	0	80,000	0	0	
Raja of Seeta Mhow	1,50,000	0	0	2,00,000	0	0	
Raja of Soant Rampoora	45,000	0	0	75,000	0	0	
Raja of Barreah - -	57,000	0	0	85,000	0	0	
Raja of Ally Mohun	30,000	0	0	45,000	0	0	
Raja of Rajghur - -	50,000	0	0	1,00,000	0	0	
Raja of Nursinghur -	60,000	0	0	1,00,000	0	0	
Total A. D. 1819	2,36,99,186	0	0				
Total A. D. 1824	-	-		2,98,76,803	0	0	

The Estimate of the Revenue of these territories, both for A. D. 1819 and A. D. 1824, has been made from data which are, perhaps, imperfect; but it is sufficiently correct to give a good idea of the gross amount of the revenue of Malwa and adjoining provinces for both dates. If the peace of the country continues undisturbed for five years, there can be no doubt that in A. D. 1824 it will prove to have been estimated at less than the actual produce.

No. XIII.

Military Establishments of the Princes and Chiefs of Malwa.

SINDIA.		
Horse.—Mahomedans - -	4,605	
Hindus - - -	4,866	
		9,471
Foot.—Mahomedans - -	1,400	
Hindus - - -	12,300	
		13,700
Sebundies and garrisons of forts	-	6,435
HOLKAR.		
Horse.—Mahomedans - -	820	
Hindus - - -	2,645	
		3,465
Foot.—Mahomedans - -	50	
Hindus - - -	150	
		200
Sebundies, garrisons, &c. &c. -	-	1,000
DHAR.		
Horse.—Mahomedans - -	40	
Hindus - - -	230	
		270
Foot.—Irregulars, Sebundies, &c. Hindus	-	887
DEWASS.		
Horse.—Hindus - -	140	
Foot.— ,, (Irregulars, &c.)	200	
		340
KOTAH.		
Horse.—Mahomedans - -	700	
Hindus - - -	3,500	
		4,200
Foot.—Mahomedans - -	1,960	
Hindus - - -	8,040	
		10,000
Foot.—Hindus and Rajpoots, Sebundies, garrisons, &c.	-	10,700

BHOPAL.

Horse.—Mahomedans - - -		2,000
Foot.—Mahomedans, Afghans -	1,000	
Hindus - - -	600	
		1,600
Sebundies, irregulars, &c. -		2,400

DOONGURPOOR.

Horse.—Rajpoots - - - -	278
Irregulars.—Do. Gosseins and Moghies	853

BANSWARRA.

Horse.—Rajpoots - - - -		302
Foot.—Mahomedans - -	250	
Hindus - - -	837	
		1,087

PERTAUBGHUR.

Horse.—Rajpoots - - - -	156
Irregulars, of all kinds - - -	798

SEETA MHOW.

Horse.—Rajpoots - - - -	270
Foot.—Irregulars of all kinds - -	660

OMUTWARRA.

Horse.—Hindu Feudatories - - -	630
Foot.—Irregulars, Sebundies, &c. - -	1,000

KYCHEEPOOR.

Horse.—Rajpoots - - - - -	60
Foot.—Irregulars of all kinds - -	300

GHUFFOOR KHAN.

Horse.—Mahomedans - - - -	600
Foot.—Sebundies, Irregulars, &c. -	150
Total	73,812

No. XIV.

A.— *Population of the Territories of Maharaja Mulhar Row Holkar, and the Puar Rajas of Dhar and Dewass, in Malwa.*

Holkar's Territories.	Total number of Houses or Families.		Families of the Civil Community.	Families of the Military and Predatory Tribes.	Men.	Women.	Children twelve years and under.	Total Population.
	Hindu.	Mahomedan.						
Pergunnah of Mahidoor, containing 213 inhabited towns and villages -	10,191	253	7,496	2,948	15,018	14,181	14,902	44,101
Ditto of Machilpoor, 56 ditto - - -	2,214	56	1,725	545	4,253	3,782	4,127	12,162
Ditto of Rycpoor, 21 ditto - - - -	1,430	7	897	540	2,399	2,204	1,880	6,483
Ditto of Depalpoor, 139 ditto - - -	8,159	365	6,983	1,541	10,874	11,412	12,024	34,310
Ditto of Zeerahpoor, 64 ditto - - -	2,631	31	11,089	984	4,333	3,607	4,133	12,073
Ditto of Hasilpoor, 17 ditto - - -	637	51	455	233	841	857	840	2,538
Ditto of Soneil, 26 ditto - - - -	1,941	124	1,622	443	2,644	2,671	3,156	8,471
Ditto of Saweir, 108 ditto - - -	5,381	218	4,273	1,326	7,407	7,724	7,733	22,864
Ditto of Soondursee, 11 ditto - - -	1,268	115	939	444	1,825	1,730	1,861	5,416
Ditto of Baitmah, 42 ditto - - -	1,872	159	1,349	682	2,637	2,574	2,406	7,617
Ditto of Indore, 185 ditto - - -	12,582	507	10,187	2,902	13,723	13,772	13,966	41,461
City of Indore, Holkar's capital - -	3,577	658	3,590	645	—	—	—	63,560
Holkar's Camp and Court computed at	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20,000
Pergunnah of Kaytha, 22 villages -	1,412	49	1,035	426	2,250	2,203	2,165	6,618
Ditto of Nundwae, 23 ditto - - -	429	4	284	146	777	639	522	1,938
Ditto of Sonarah, 8 ditto - - - -	1,197	11	1,014	194	1,817	1,657	1,659	5,133
Ditto of Bampoora, 49 ditto - - -	3,064	209	2,617	656	4,576	4,431	4,399	13,406

Pergunnah of Taranah, 141 villages -	6,361	216	4,421	2,156	8,442	8,315	9,414	26,171
Ditto of Rampoora, 364 ditto - -	17,489	762	14,018	4,233	25,400	24,745	23,344	73,489
Ditto of Narainghur, 49 ditto - -	3,162	46	2,132	1,076	4,858	4,328	3,391	12,577
Ditto of Kautkoot, 12 ditto - - -	148	3	72	79	159	149	178	486
Cantonment of Mhow, not including troops, viz. Natives of Hindustan -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13,000
Ditto of Malwa and the Deckan - -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,731
Ghuffoor Khan's Jaghire.								
Pergunnah of Jowrah - - - - - -	4,760	126	3,508	1,378	7,485	6,755	5,970	20,210
Ditto of Tal, 42 villages - - - -	2,653	133	1,708	1,078	4,386	4,001	3,921	12,308
Ditto of Sunjeed, 47 ditto - - - -	1,786	10	1,312	484	2,774	2,309	2,068	7,151
Ditto of Mundawul, 35 ditto - - -	1,471	10	949	532	2,813	2,440	3,863	9,116
Ditto of Burowdah, 22 ditto - - -	1,590	67	1,178	479	1,407	2,448	2,193	6,048
Ditto of Mulharghur, 49 ditto - -	—	*Not received.*		—	4,192	4,012	3,921	12,125
Dhar Possessions.								
Pergunnah of Budnawur, 150 villages	7,484	251	5,016	2,719	11,011	10,709	9,399	31,119
Ditto of Dhar, 151 ditto - - - -	7,042	531	4,806	2,767	10,392	10,338	10,065	30,795
Ditto of Nalcha, 10 ditto - - - -	546	11	340	217	779	773	661	2,173
Dewass Raja's Possessions.								
Pergunnah of Allote, 68 villages - -	2,269	47	1,166	850	—	—	—	8,685
Tuppah of Gurgoocha, 19 ditto - -	913	14	707	220	—	—	—	3,476
Pergunnah of Sarungpoor, 54 ditto -	2,797	251	2,445	603	—	—	—	11,430

Population, continued.

Dewass Raja's Possessions.	Total number of Houses or Families.		Families of the Civil Community.	Families of the Military and Predatory Tribes.	Men.	Women.	Children twelve years and under.	Total Population.
	Hindu.	Mahomedan.						
Pergunnah of Ringnode, 31 villages -	1,452	87	1,365	124	—	—	—	5,583
Ditto of Dewass, 232 ditto - - -	6,458	512	5,092	1,878	—	—	—	26,137
Town of Dewass - - - - - -	981	206	1,002	185	—	—	—	4,451
Ditto of Baroda - - - - - -	261	7	232	36	—	—	—	1,105
Pergunnah of Ragooghur, 11 villages	560	20	352	28	—	—	—	2,250
Bheel Population, particularized in Table C. - - - - - - - -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,965
Total	128,168	5,974	107,676	35,977	159,472	142,767	154,098	634,732

B.—*Population of Possessions in Nemaur.*

Possessions of Holkar.	Total number of Houses or Families.		Families of the Civil Community.	Families of the Military and Predatory Tribes.	Men.	Women.	Children twelve years and under.	Total Population.
	Hindu.	Mahomedan.						
Pergunnah of Mahidpoor, containing 14 villages and towns - - -	3,520	356	3,464	412	3,806	4,395	3,285	11,486
Pergunnah of Chooly, 5 ditto ditto -	369	4	284	89	477	526	433	1,436
Circar Beejaghur, called also Butteessee from containing 32 Pergunnahs, viz.								
Pergunnah of Kurgond, 56 villages -	3,893	380	3,775	498	5,976	6,804	6,312	19,092

Pergunnah of Chynpoor, 29 villages	565	8	220	353	742	681	778	2,201
Ditto of Bulwanah, 29 ditto - -	931	39	760	210	1,337	1,344	1,294	3,975
Ditto of Beeswah, 35 ditto - - -	736	31	441	326	1,033	909	876	2,818
Ditto of Mahomedpoor, 27 ditto -	1,178	52	1,026	204	1,646	1,778	1,896	5,320
Ditto of Murdanah, 11 ditto - -	376	35	233	178	574	534	440	1,548
Ditto of Umlatah, 8 ditto - - -	175	0	94	81	247	233	279	759
Ditto of Woone, 13 ditto - - - -	416	5	297	124	577	567	566	1,710
Ditto of Jelalabad, 32 ditto - -	1,285	16	770	531	1,642	1,628	1,655	4,925
Ditto of Beekungaum, 15 ditto -	420	6	259	167	539	553	557	1,649
Ditto of Nagulwaree, 6 ditto - -	268	0	125	143	333	331	301	965
Ditto of Beroob, 11 ditto - - -	167	3	39	131	228	219	229	676
Ditto of Bunmallah, 4 ditto - -	180	1	74	107	234	225	249	708
Ditto of Bramingaong, 12 ditto -	146	0	68	78	190	169	168	527
Ditto of Khoorgong, 8 ditto - -	163	4	126	41	200	192	173	565
Ditto of Russeeapoor, 6 ditto - -	157	5	103	59	232	250	187	669
Ditto of Sauglee, 3 ditto - - -	147	0	66	81	172	177	220	569
Ditto of Akburpoor, 1 ditto - -	18	0	14	4	27	20	16	63
Ditto of Naudsee, 3 ditto - - -	67	2	25	44	87	79	70	236
Ditto of Seresghur, 3 ditto - - -	79	0	25	54	107	93	85	285
Ditto of Akaipoorah, 11 ditto - -	255	14	208	61	355	298	283	936
Ditto of Baugdurah, 7 ditto - -	429	5	345	89	516	537	446	1,499
Punj Mahal, viz.								
Nimawur, 24 villages - - -	1,055	28	822	261	1,447	1,405	1,645	4,497
Rajour, 24 ditto - - - -	2,364	20	1,638	746	3,031	3,015	3,492	9,538
Kantapoor, 30 ditto - - -	2,133	54	1,520	667	2,727	2,704	3,269	8,700
Hurngong, 16 ditto - - -	490	24	340	174	640	626	691	1,957

Population, continued.

Possessions of the Dhar Raja, &c.	Total number of Houses or Families.		Families of the Civil Community.	Families of the Military and Predatory Tribes.	Men.	Women.	Children twelve years and under.	Total Population.
	Hindu.	Mahomedan.						
Pergunnah of Dhurrumpooree, 45 vill.ª	1,198	25	797	426	—	—	—	4,586
Ditto of Kooksee, 31 ditto - -	1,890	125	1,640	375	2,577	2,745	2,426	7,748
Ditto Loharee, 16 ditto - - -	454	5	372	87	607	602	512	1,721
Ditto of Kunwarra, 9 ditto - - -	187	0	137	50	—	—	—	701
Ditto of Bulkeer, 14 ditto - - -	224	9	148	85	—	—	—	873
Ditto of Sultanabad, 20 ditto - -	464	42	393	113	—	—	—	1,897
Ditto of Kotrah, 53 ditto - - -	—	—	—	—	3,789	3,631	2,906	10,326
British Dependencies in Nemaur.								
Pergunnah of Kasrowde, 31 villages	1,480	32	1,309	203	2,055	1,924	1,691	5,670
Kusbah of Mundleysir - - - - -	382	12	297	97	585	1,690	725	2,000
Pergunnah of Kannapoor, 17 villages	600	15	318	297	998	1,041	695	2,734
Ditto of Burdiah, 13 ditto - - -	364	8	171	201	553	540	503	1,596
Total	29,225	1,365	22,743	17,847	40,286	41,466	39,353	129,161

C.—*Abstract of the Bheel Population of the Vindhya Mountains from Kautkote East to Mandoo West.*

Bheel Population.	Number of Ploughs the property of each Village.	Quantity ploughed and cultivated.		Portion of land ploughed by hired ploughs.		No. of Houses.	Men.	Women.	Children twelve years and under.		Total.
									Male.	Female.	
		Begahs.	Biswas.	Begahs.	Biswas.						
20 Parahs of Nadir Bheel -	32½	275	5	19	15	143	173	174	125	67	539
17 Ditto of Rajghur - - -	46½	470	9	44	9	122	,,	*By computation.*		,,	462
5 Ditto of Kotah Dhye - -	12½	107	8	4	8	28	,,	,,	,,	,,	104
1 Ditto of Byrooghaut - -	1	10	9	1	2	5	,,	,,	,,	,,	19
20 Ditto of Neemkerah - -	85	1,028	12	*By comparison.*		203	,,	,,	,,	,,	765
10 Ditto of Kychawidah - -	56	677	12	,,	,,	114	,,	,,	,,	,,	431
7 Ditto of Kala Panee - -	17	286	4	72	1	99	,,	,,	,,	,,	372
9 Ditto of Teetcepoorah -	44	580	2	6	10	83	,,	,,	,,	,,	314
12 Ditto of Nalcha - - -	27	335	14	59	12	129	,,	,,	,,	,,	488
6 Ditto of Bharoodpoorah -	37½	505	14	55	14	70	,,	,,	,,	,,	264
1 Ditto of Hohlee Mal - -	12	157	,,	,,	,,	15	,,	,,	,,	,,	57
1 Ditto of Baugmarah - -	12	172	10	,,	10	16	,,	,,	,,	,,	60
3 Managed by Chyne Singh, &c.	36	512	14	5	14	25	,,	,,	,,	,,	90
112 Grand Total	419	5,119	13	269	15	1,052	,,	,,	,,	,,	3,965

No. XV.

Tables exhibiting the Restoration of Villages in the Territories of Holkar, Dhar, Dewass, and Bhopal.

A.*

HOLKAR'S *Territories.* MAHALS, &c.	Khalsa Villages.	Villages inhabited in 1817.	Villages restored in 1818.	Villages restored in 1819.	Villages restored in 1820.	Balance uninhabited Villages.
Rampoora	658	417	80	38	73	50
Nandroye	24	23	0	0	0	1
Narainghur	50	50	0	0	0	0
Sundhara	12	12	0	0	0	0
Soreil	28	20	4	4	0	0
Raepoor	23	23	0	0	0	0
Jerapoor	75	44	16	15	0	0
Machepoor	71	44	13	14	0	0
Kotry	24	20	4	0	0	0
Turana	172	156	0	16	0	0
Kailah	21	13	3	5	0	0
Jawur	112	97	15	0	0	0
Mahidpoor	232	225	4	3	0	0
Debalpoor	148	136	10	0	0	2
Indore	354	248	5	25	45	31
Baitmah	42	31	6	5	0	0
Kantkote	84	0	0	9	60	15
Ranilpoor	31	17	4	4	0	6
Alumpoor	25	25	0	0	0	0
Sundary, viz. Sindia's Shye, Puar ditto, Holkar ditto, Kusbah ditto	10	10	0	0	0	0

* This Table shews only the Khalsa or Government Villages:—those assigned in Jaghire, for the support of Chiefs, Ministers, &c. and in Charitable Grants, are not included. The latter are computed, in Holkar's territories at 253; and have, no doubt, been restored in the same proportion as the Khalsa lands.

HOLKAR'S *Territories.* MAHALS, &c.	Khalsa Villages.	Villages inhabited in 1817.	Villages restored in 1818.	Villages restored in 1819.	Villages restored in 1820.	Balance uninhabited Villages.
Choley Shahain, viz.						
Shahain - - -						
Choley - - - -	81	33	5	24	5	14
Bugdanna - - -						
Kurrye - - -						
Nimawur - - - - -	260½	71½	23	64	75	27
Bissaghur, viz.						
Bijaghurpoor - -						
Barrode - - - -						
Aagulwarra - - -	1140	299	77	117	250	397
Sindwa - - - -						
Brammgadu - -						
Narainghur, viz.						
Schory - - - -	1½	0	0	0	0	0
Tullain - - - -						
Chundore - - - - -	9	9	0	0	0	0
Argur Diolah - - -	3	3	0	0	0	0
Kailwarah Kolah - -	1	1	0	0	0	0
Wabghar - - - - -	9	9	0	0	0	0
Total	3701	2038	269	343	508	543

B.

State of DHAR. MAHALS, &c.	No. of Villages.	Villages inhabited in 1817.	Villages restored in 1818.	Villages restored in 1819.	Villages restored in 1820.	Villages remaining uninhabited.
Dhurrumpooree - - -	138	-	20	2	13	103
Bulkier - - - - -	26	-	4	3	6	13
Nalcha - - - - -	55	1	4	3	2	45
Kooksee - - - - -	52½	25	-	-	10	17½
Lahoree - - - - -	22½	10	-	-	10	2½
Sultanpoor - - - -	57	-	-	10	11	36*
Total	351	36	28	18	52	217

* Nineteen of the desolate villages in Sultanpoor have been repeopled within the last two months, which leaves only seventeen desolate.

The Pergunnah of BUDNAWUR has continued in its present state for many years past, owing to the protection of Sindia, who held it throughout the worst period of anarchy.

C.

State of DEWASS. PERGUNNAHS, &c.	Villages inhabited in 1817.	Villages restored in 1818.	Villages restored in 1819.	Total of Villages restored.
Dewass	130	24	70	94
Sarungpoor	41	2	11	13
Allote	50	1	17	18
Ringrode	21	7	3	10
Talook of Gurgoocha	15	1	5	6
Total	257	35	106	141

D.

Territories of BHOPAL. MAHALS, &c.	Khalsa Villages.	Villages inhabited in 1817.	Villages restored in 1818.	Villages restored in 1819.	Villages restored in 1820.	Balance uninhabited Villages.
Bhopal	23	0	0	0	4	19
Bhowrie	58	0	0	0	2	56
Bunchore	20	20	0	0	0	0
Chinchulie	21	0	5	0	7	9
Barhee	140	42	31	40	15	12
Bareilley	47	47	0	0	0	0
Chokeyghur	117	2	19	17	8	71
Kurgore	65	15	0	0	0	50
Bearkairee	24	24	0	0	0	0
Kamkherah	0	0	0	0	0	0
Deoseepoorah	42	33	0	0	0	9
Odeypoor	70	69	0	0	0	1
Tal	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peeklore	13	0	0	9	2	2

Territories of BHOPAL. MAHALS, &c.	Khalsa Villages.	Villages inhabited in 1817.	Villages restored in 1818.	Villages restored in 1819.	Villages restored in 1820.	Balance uninhabited Villages.
Draha	3	0	0	0	3	0
Sehore	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jehtahree	6	0	0	6	0	0
Sewass, Ghyrutgune, Betwanue, Purrareah, Jureah, Bussodey, Jheerney	415	15	89	52	108	151
Sumsghur	57	37	0	0	0	20
Shujahalpoor	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ramghur Goboreah	25	5	0	0	5	15
Goolgaon	49	39	0	0	0	10
Sulwaney	83	20	6	10	14	33
Ramghur Bummorey	114	21	9	12	3	69
Murdunpoor Kallah	143	55	17	11	0	60
Chippaneer Gopalpoor	81	41	1	4	0	35
Raiseen	42	15	0	0	0	27
Dilhoud	40	0	9	7	7	17
Ambapanee	67	20	0	23	9	15
Mahulpoor	67	42	0	0	0	25
Sancheit	69	68	0	0	0	1
Sehore	143	43	59	17	20	4
Ashta	244	226	12	2	3	1
Itchawur	122	30	34	25	0	33
Davepoorah	32	0	0	0	27	5
Durcha	130	30	10	9	28	53
Kote Kho	12	5	1	5	1	0
Satunwaree Chundwar	12	1	0	0	1	10
Grand Total	2596	965	302	249	267	813

No. XVI.

Treaties, Abstracts of Treaties, and Engagements, with the Rulers, Princes, and Chiefs of Central India.

A.

Treaty with Dowlet Row Sindia.

WHEREAS the British Government, and Maharaja Alija Dowlet Row Sindia Behauder, are mutually actuated by a desire to suppress the predatory power of the Pindarries, and to destroy and prevent the revival of the predatory system in every part of India; the following Articles have been agreed on, for the purpose of giving effect to the mutual wishes of the two States.

ARTICLE I.—The contracting parties engage to employ the forces of their respective Governments, and of their allies and dependents, in prosecuting operations against the Pindarries, and any other bodies of associated freebooters; to expel them from their haunts, and to adopt the most effectual measures to disperse and prevent them from re-assembling. With this view, the forces of the two Governments and their respective allies will immediately attack the Pindarries and their associates, according to a concerted plan of operations, and will not desist until the objects of this engagement are entirely accomplished. The Maharaja farther agrees to employ his utmost

efforts to seize the persons of the Pindarry leaders and their families, and to deliver them up to the British Government.)

II.—The Pindarry hordes having established themselves in the territories of the Maharaja and other neighbouring states, it is hereby agreed, that, on their expulsion, such of the lands occupied by them as heretofore belonged to the Maharaja shall be immediately resumed by his Highness, who engages never to readmit them to possession. Such of the lands now occupied by the Pindarries as belong to other states, shall be restored to their rightful proprietors, provided they shall have exerted themselves to the extent required in expelling the Pindarries, and shall engage never to re-admit them, or in any way to connect themselves with those freebooters. Those lands shall otherwise be delivered over to Maharaja Dowlet Row Sindia, and be held by him on the same conditions.

III.—Maharaja Dowlet Row Sindia hereby engages never to re-admit the Pindarries, or any other predatory bodies, into his territories, or in any manner to give them the smallest countenance or support, or to permit his officers to do so; on the contrary, his Highness promises to issue the most positive orders to all his officers, civil and military, and to enforce them by the severest penalties, to employ their utmost efforts to expel or destroy any bodies of plunderers who may attempt to take refuge in his Highness's territories. All officers disregarding his Highness's orders are to be considered and dealt with as rebels to the Maharaja, and enemies of the British Government.

IV.—Maharaja Dowlet Row Sindia is the undisputed master of his own troops and resources. With

a view, however, to the more effectual accomplishment of the objects of this Treaty, his Highness agrees, that the divisions of his troops (which taken together shall amount to 5,000 horse) employed in active operations against the Pindarries or other freebooters, shall act in concert with the British troops, and in conformity to the plan that may be counselled by the officer commanding the British divisions with which his Highness's troops may be appointed to act in concert. With the same view it is agreed, that a British officer shall be stationed with each division of the Maharaja's troops, to be the channel of communication between them and the British commanding officer; and to forward the other purposes of their conjunct operations, his Highness engages that all his officers, civil and military, shall afford every degree of support and assistance in their power, in procuring supplies or otherwise, to the British troops operating in his territory; and any failure in this respect shall subject the offending party to be considered and treated as a rebel to his Highness, and an enemy of the British Government.

V.—Maharaja Dowlet Row Sindia engages, that the divisions appointed to act in concert with the British troops shall be maintained in a state of complete equipment, both men and horses, and regularly paid. In order to provide effectually for the latter object, in such a manner as shall prevent all future discussions or disputes, his Highness consents to renounce, for the next three years, the payments now made by the British Government to him, as well as to certain members of his family and ministers of his government, and that those sums shall be disbursed towards the payment of his Highness's troops, through

the British officers stationed with them: and the British Government agrees, at the conclusion of the war, and after his Highness's troops shall have received what may be due to them, to pay any balance that may remain to his Highness. With the same view, the Maharaja Dowlet Row Sindia likewise consents to relinquish, in the fullest manner, to the British Government, for a period of two years, the tribute which he is entitled to receive from the states of Joudpoor, Boondee, and Kotah.

VI.—It is agreed, that the troops of Maharaja Dowlet Row Sindia, cavalry, infantry, and artillery, shall occupy, during the war, such positions as shall be designated by the British Government, and shall not change them without the express concurrence of that government; any unconcerted movements being calculated to derange the joint operations of the forces of the two States, and to give advantage to the enemy. It is also agreed, in order to ensure the due execution of the stipulation contained in this Article, that the British Government shall be at liberty to station an officer in each of the divisions of the Maharaja's army above mentioned.

VII.—The force that will be put in motion by the British Government, and that actually in the service of Maharaja Dowlet Row Sindia, being fully sufficient to chastise the Pindarries, and effect the objects of the present treaty, his Highness agrees, in order to prevent the possibility of collusion between his officers and the Pindarries, not to augment his forces during the war, without the concurrence of the British Government. His Highness expressly engages to prohibit his officers from admitting into the ranks of his army, or otherwise harbouring or protecting, the Pindarries, or other free-

booters; and all persons neglecting or disobeying these orders, are to be considered and treated as rebels to his Highness, and enemies of the British Government.

VIII.—With a view to the more effectual prosecution of the joint operations of the two Governments, and to the facility and security of the communication of the British troops with their supplies, the Maharaja, reposing entire confidence in the friendship and good faith of the British Government, agrees that British garrisons shall be admitted into the forts of Hindia and Asseerghur, and shall be charged with the care and defence of those forts during the war, and shall have the liberty of establishing depôts within them. The flag of Dowlet Row Sindia shall, however, continue to fly in the fort of Asseerghur, and his Highness shall be at liberty to station a killedar, with a personal guard of fifty men, in the said fort; but it is clearly understood, that the actual command of that place, as well as of Hindia, and the disposal of the warlike stores that may be found in those forts, shall be vested exclusively in the British commanding officers. Any part of those stores that may be damaged or expended while the forts in question are occupied by the British troops, shall be accounted for, and the value made good to his Highness. For the more effectual performance of this stipulation, inventories shall be taken by officers, on the part of both Governments, at the time of the occupation of the forts by the British Government. The present garrisons, with the exception above stated in regard to Asseerghur, shall move out of the forts. The Maharaja will thenceforward have no farther concern with the Sebundies of the garrisons; but his Highness's other troops,

including the Pagah, &c., shall encamp at such places as may be prescribed by the British officers, in conformity to the provisions of the 6th Article. The territories depending on the forts above-mentioned will continue to be managed by the officers of the Maharaja, who will receive every support from the British Government and its officers. The whole, or such portion of the revenues as may be necessary, shall be appropriated to the payment of the Maharaja's troops acting in concert with the British divisions, as stipulated in the 5th Article; and a faithful account of the whole shall be rendered to his Highness after the conclusion of the war. The two forts abovementioned, and the territories dependent on them, will be restored to the Maharaja, as soon as the operations against the Pindarries, or their confederates, shall be brought to a termination, in the same condition in which they may be delivered up to the British Government. All private property will be respected; and the inhabitants of the towns or villages depending on the forts, will enjoy the protection of the British Government, or be permitted to depart with their property, if they think proper.

IX.—The main object of the contracting parties being to prevent for ever the revival of the predatory system in any form, and both Governments being satisfied, that to accomplish this wise and just end, it may be necessary for the British Government to form engagements of friendship and alliance with the several States of Hindustan, the 8th Article of the Treaty of the 22d of November 1805, by which the British Government is restrained from entering into treaties with certain chiefs therein specified, is hereby abrogated and annulled: and it is declared, that the

British Government shall be at full liberty to form engagements with the States of Odeypoor, Joudpoor, and Kotah, and with the State of Boondee, and other substantive states on the left bank of the Chumbul. Nothing in this Article shall, however, be construed to give the British Government a right to interfere with states or chiefs in Malwa or Guzerat, clearly and indisputably dependent on or tributary to the Maharaja; and it is agreed, that his Highness's authority over those states or chiefs shall continue on the same footing as it has been heretofore. The British Government farther agrees and promises, in the event of its forming any engagements with the abovementioned States of Odeypoor, Joudpoor, Kotah, and Boondee, or with any others on the left bank of the Chumbul, to secure to Dowlet Row Sindia his ascertained tribute, and to guarantee the same in perpetuity, to be paid through the British Government. And Dowlet Row Sindia engages, on his part, on no account or pretence whatever, to interfere in any shape in the affairs of those states without the concurrence of the British Government.

X.—If (which God forbid) the British Government and the Maharaja shall be compelled to wage war with any other state, on account of such state attacking either of the contracting parties, or aiding or protecting the Pindarries or other freebooters, the British Government, having at heart the welfare of Dowlet Row Sindia, will, in the event of success, and of his Highness's zealous performance of his engagements, make the most liberal arrangements for the consolidation and increase of his territories.

XI.—Such parts of the Treaty of Surgee Anjengaum, and of the Treaty concluded on the 22d Novem-

ber 1805, as are not affected by the provisions of the present engagement, remain in full force, and are mutually binding on the contracting parties.

XII.—This Treaty, consisting of twelve Articles, having this day been concluded, subject to the ratification of the Governor-General and the Maharaja Alija Dowlet Row Sindia, Captain Close engages to procure the ratification of the Governor-General in five days from this date, or sooner if possible; and Ramchunder Bhaskur engages to obtain his Highness's ratification before sunset this evening. . . .

Done at Gualior, this fifth day of November, in the year of our Lord 1817, corresponding with the 24th day of Zehedge, 1232 of the Hejira, and with Buddee Yekadussu of the month of Aswin, in the year 1218 of the Arabic era.

The Seal of Dowlet Row Sindia.

ROBERT CLOSE,
RAMCHUNDER BHASKUR.

Ratified by the Governor-General, in camp near Nuddee Ka Gong, on the 6th of November 1817.

B.

Treaty with Mulhar Row Holkar.

ARTICLE I.—Peace being established with the Maharaja Mulhar Row Holkar, the Company's Government agree, that it will not permit any state, or any freebooter to be unpunished that shall commit any outrage or hostility against the territories of the Maharaja Mulhar Row Holkar, the Maharaja agreeing on such occasion to lend his utmost assistance by the employment of his troops, or in any other manner as

may be requisite; and the British Government will, at all times, extend the same protection to the territories of Mulhar Row Holkar as to its own.

II.—Maharaja Mulhar Row Holkar agrees to confirm the engagement which has been made by the British Government with the Nabob Ameer Khan, and to renounce all claims whatever to the territories guaranteed in the said engagement by the British Government to the Nabob Ameer Khan and his heirs.

III.—The Pergunnahs of Pulepehar, Dug, Gungrala, Aoor, and others, rented by Raja Golier Singh of Kotah, to be ceded in perpetuity to that chief by the Maharaja Mulhar Row Holkar, who renounces all claims whatever to these Pergunnahs.

IV.—Maharaja Mulhar Row Holkar agrees to cede to the British Government all claims of tribute and revenues of every description which he has or may have had upon the Rajpoot Princes: such as the Rajas of Odeypoor, Jeypoor, Joudpoor, Kotah, Boondee, Kerowly, &c.

V.—Mulhar Row Holkar renounces all right and title to any territories, such as Rampoora, Bassunat, Rajepoora, Ballacca, Meemsarall, Indeghur, Boondee, Lakheree, Samoonda, Bamumgaum, and other places within or North of the Boondee Hills.

VI.—Maharaja Mulhar Row Holkar cedes to the British Government all his territories and claims of every description whatever within and South of the Satpoorah range of hills, including the fort of Sindwa, with a glacis of two thousand yards. Also all his possessions in the territory of Candeish, and those districts, such as Amber, Ellora, and others, intermixed with the territories of the Nizam and Paishwah.

VII.—In consideration of the cessions made by this

treaty, the British Government binds itself to support a field force to maintain the internal tranquillity of the territories of Mulhar Row Holkar, and to defend them from foreign enemies. This force shall be of such strength as shall be judged adequate to the object. It shall be stationed where the British Government determines to be best, and the Maharaja Mulhar Row Holkar agrees to grant some place of security as a deposit for stores.

VIII.—The Maharaja grants full permission for the purchase of supplies of every description for any British force acting in the defence of his territories: grain, and all other articles of consumption, and provisions, and all sorts of materials for wearing apparel, together with the necessary number of cattle, horses, and camels, required for the use of such force, shall be exempt from duties.

IX.—Maharaja Mulhar Row Holkar engages never to commit any act of hostility or aggression against any of the Honourable Company's allies or dependents, or against any other power or state whatever. In the event of differences arising, whatever adjustment the Company's government, weighing matters in the scale of truth and justice, may determine, shall have the Maharaja's acquiescence. The Maharaja agrees not to send or receive Vakeels from any other state, or to have communication with any other states, except with the knowledge and consent of the British Resident.

X.—The British Government hereby declares that it has no manner of concern with any of the Maharaja's children, relations, dependents, subjects, or servants, with respect to whom the Maharaja is absolute.

XI.—The Maharaja Mulhar Row Holkar agrees to

discharge his superfluous troops, and not to keep a larger force than his revenues will afford. He, however, agrees to retain in his service, ready to co-operate with the British troops, a body of not less than three thousand horse, for whose regular payment a suitable arrangement must be made.

XII.—The Maharaja engages, and the British Government guarantees the engagement, to grant to Nabob Ghuffoor Khan, his present Jaidad of the districts of Sunjeet, Mulharghur, Tal, Mundawar, Jowra, Barrode, the tribute of Pelowda, the Sayer of the whole. These districts shall descend to his heirs, on the condition that the said Nabob and his heirs shall maintain, independent of the Sebundy for his Pergunnahs and his personal attendants, in constant readiness for service, a body of six hundred select horse; and farther that this quota of troops shall be increased in proportion to the increasing revenue of the districts granted to him.

XIII.—Mulhar Row Holkar engages never to entertain in his service Europeans or Americans of any description, without the knowledge and consent of the British Government.

XIV.—In order to maintain and enforce the relations of amity and peace hereby re-established, it is agreed that an accredited Minister from the British Government shall reside with the Maharaja Mulhar Row Holkar, and that the latter shall be at liberty to send a Vakeel to the Most Noble the Governor-General.

XV.—All the cessions made by this treaty to the British Government or its allies, shall take effect from the date of this treaty, and the Maharaja relinquishes all claims to arrears from these cessions. The posses-

sions lately conquered by the British Government shall be restored to the Maharaja. The Purwannas for the mutual delivery of these cessions shall be issued without delay, and the forts ceded shall be given up with their military stores, and in all respects in their present condition.

XVI.—(The British Government engages that it will never permit the Paishwah (Sri Munt), nor any of his heirs and descendants, to claim or exercise any sovereign rights or power whatever over the Maharaja Mulhar Row Holkar, his heirs and descendants.)

XVII.—This Treaty, consisting of seventeen Articles, has this day been settled by Brigadier-general Sir John Malcolm, acting under the direction of his Excellency Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Hislop, Bart., on the part of the Honourable Company, and by Tantia Jogh, on the part of Mulhar Row Holkar. Sir John Malcolm has delivered one copy thereof in English and Persian, signed and sealed by himself, to the said Tantia Jogh, to be forwarded to Maharaja Mulhar Row Holkar, and has received from the said Tantia Jogh a counterpart of the said treaty, signed and sealed by him.

Sir John Malcolm engages that a copy of the said treaty, ratified by the Most Noble the Governor-General, in every respect the counterpart of the treaty now executed by himself, shall be delivered to Tantia Jogh, to be forwarded to the Maharaja within the period of one month, and on the delivery of such copy to the Maharaja, the treaty executed by Sir John Malcolm, under the immediate directions of his Excellency Sir Thomas Hislop, shall be returned; and Tantia Jogh in like manner engages that another copy of the said treaty, ratified by the Maharaja Mulhar Row Holkar,

in every respect the counterpart of the treaty now executed by himself, shall be delivered to Sir John Malcolm, to be forwarded to the Most Noble the Governor-General within the space of ten days from this date, and on the delivery of such copy to the Most Noble the Governor-General, the treaty executed by Tantia Jogh, by virtue of the full powers and authority vested in him as above-mentioned, shall be returned.

Done at Mundissor, this 6th day of January 1818, on the 29th day of Suffer, in the year of the Hegira 1233.

JOHN MALCOLM.
TANTIA JOGH.

C

Treaty with the Nabob of Bhopal.

ARTICLE I.—There shall be perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests, between the Honourable the East India Company and the Nawaub of Bhopal, his heirs and successors, and the friends and enemies of one party shall be the friends and enemies of both.

II.—The British Government engages to guarantee and protect the principality and territory of Bhopal against all enemies.

III.—The Nawaub of Bhopal, and his heirs and successors, shall act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and acknowledge its supremacy, and will not have any connexion with other chiefs and states.

IV.—The Nawaub, and his heirs and successors,

will not enter into negotiation with any chief or state without the knowledge and sanction of the British Government; but their usual amicable correspondence with friends and relations, and necessary correspondence with neighbouring Zemindars and managers on matters of small importance, shall continue.

V.—The Nawaub, his heirs and successors, will not commit aggression on any one: if by accident disputes arise with any one, they shall be submitted to the arbitration and award of the British Government.

VI.—The State of Bhopal shall furnish a contingent of six hundred horse and four hundred infantry for the service of the British Government whenever required; and, when necessary, the whole of the Bhopal force shall join the British army, excepting such a portion as may be requisite for the internal administration of the country.

VII.—The British troops are to be at all times admitted into the Bhopal territory (the commanding officers of such troops using their utmost endeavour to prevent injury to the crops or other damage), and if necessary shall canton them; in which event, the Nawaub engages for himself, his heirs and successors, on application to that effect, to cede to the British Government, to serve as a depôt, the fort of Nuzzer Ghur, or of Goo Gaun, with ground to the distance of two thousand yards all round the fort.

VIII.—The Nawaub, his heirs and successors, will afford every facility to the British troops in obtaining supplies; and all articles of supply required for them shall be purchased in, and pass through the Nawaub's territory, free of duty.

IX.—The Nawaub, and his heirs and successors, shall remain absolute rulers of their country; and the

jurisdiction of the British Government shall not, in any manner, be introduced into that principality.

X.—The Nawaub having exerted himself, and employed the resources of his Government with zeal and fidelity in the late service against the Pindarries, the British Government, in order to mark its approbation of his conduct, and to enable him to maintain the stipulated contingent, hereby grants to the Nawaub, his heirs and successors, in perpetuity, the five Mahals of Ashta, Itchawur, Sehar, Dovaha, and Deveepona, to be held by them in exclusive sovereignty.

XI.—This Treaty, consisting of eleven Articles, having been concluded at Raisseen, and signed and sealed by Captain Stewart and Kurreem Mahomed Khan Bahauder and Shah Zad Musseeh Saheb, Captain Stewart engages to procure the ratification of the Governor-General within three weeks from this date, and Kurreem Mahomed Khan Bahauder and Shah Zad Musseeh Saheb engage to obtain the ratification of the Nawaub Nuzzer Mahomed Khan in two days.

Done at Raisseen, this 26th day of February, 1818, corresponding with the 20th Rubbee oos sane Hejira 1223.

J. STEWART.
KURREEM MAHOMED.
SHAH ZAD MUSSEEH SAHEB.

D.

Treaty with the Raja of Kotah.

ARTICLE I.—There shall be perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests, between the British Government on the one hand, and Maha Rao Omid

Singh Behadur, his heirs and successors, on the other.

II.—The friends and enemies of either of the contracting parties shall be the same to both.

III.—The British Government engages to take under its protection the principality and territory of Kotah.

IV.—The Maha Rao, his heirs and successors, will always act in subordinate co-operation with the British government, and acknowledge its supremacy; and will not henceforth have any connexion with the chiefs and states with which the State of Kotah has been heretofore connected.

V.—The Maha Rao, his heirs and successors, will not enter into negotiations with any chief or state without the sanction of the British Government. But his customary amicable correspondence with friends and relations shall continue.

VI.—The Maha Rao, his heirs and successors, will not commit aggressions on any one; and if any disputes accidentally arise with any one, proceeding either from acts of the Maha Rao, or acts of the other party, the adjustment of such disputes shall be submitted to the arbitration of the British Government.

VII.—The tribute heretofore paid by the principality of Kotah to the Mahratta chiefs, for instance, the Paishwah, Sindia, Holkar, and Puar, shall be paid at Delhi to the British Government for ever, according to the separate schedule annexed.

VIII.—No other power shall have any claim to tribute from the principality of Kotah; and if any one advance such a claim, the British Government engages to reply to it.

IX.—The troops of the principality of Kotah, accord-

ing to its means, shall be furnished at the requisition of the British Government.

X.—The Maha Rao, his heirs and successors, shall remain absolute rulers of their country; and the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the British Government shall not be introduced into that principality.

XI.—This Treaty of eleven Articles having been concluded at Delhi, and signed and sealed by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe on the one part, and Maharaja Sheodaun Singh, Sah Jeewun Ram, and Lalla Hool Chund, on the other, the ratifications of the same by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General, and Maha Rao Omid Singh, and his administrator Raj Rana Zalim Singh, shall be exchanged within a month from this date.

Done at Delhi, the 26th December, A. D. 1817.

C. T. METCALFE, Resident, &c. &c. &c.
MAHARAJA SHEODAUN SINGH.
SAH JEEWUN RAM.
HOOL CHUND.

SUPPLEMENTARY ARTICLE concluded at Delhi, the 20th February, 1818.—The contracting Parties agree, that after Maha Rao Omid Singh, the Raja of Kotah, the principality shall descend to his eldest son and heir apparent, Maha Raj Koowar Kishour Singh, and his heirs, in regular succession and perpetuity; and that the entire administration of the affairs of the principality shall be vested in Raj Rana Zalim Singh, and, after him, in his eldest son Koowar Madhoo Singh, and his heirs, in regular succession in perpetuity.

(Signed,) C. T. METCALFE, Resident.

E.

Treaty with Ameer Khan.

ARTICLE I.—The British Government guarantees to Nawaub Ameer Khan, and his heirs, in perpetuity, the possession of the places which he holds in the territories of Maharaja Holkar, under grants from the said Maharaja, and the British Government takes those possessions under its protection.

II.—Nawaub Ameer Khan will disband his army, with the exception of such a portion as may be requisite for the internal management of his possessions.

III.—Nawaub Ameer Khan will not commit aggressions in any country. He will relinquish his connexion with the Pindarries and other plunderers, and will, moreover, co-operate to the utmost of his power with the British Government for their chastisement and suppression. He will not enter into negotiations with any person whatever without the consent of the British Government.

IV.—Nawaub Ameer Khan will deliver up to the British Government all his guns and military equipments, with the exception of such a portion as may be requisite for the internal management of his possessions and the defence of his forts, and shall receive in exchange an equitable pecuniary compensation.

V.—The force which Nawaub Ameer Khan may retain, shall attend at the requisition of the British Government.

VI.—This engagement of six Articles having been concluded at Delhi, and signed and sealed by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe and Lalla Nurunjun Lal, the ratifications of the same by his Excellency the Most

Noble the Governor-General and Nawaub Ameer Khan, shall be delivered at Delhi within one month from the present date, November 9th, 1817.

C. T. METCALFE. LALLA NURUNJUN LAL.
HASTINGS.

Ratified by his Excellency the Governor-General, in camp at Sulya, this 15th day of November, 1817.

J. ADAM,
Secretary to the Gov.-Gen.

F.

Substance of the Treaty with the State of Dhar, dated 10th January, 1819.

PERPETUAL peace, friendship, and unity to exist.

The Raja to have no intercourse, public or private, with any other State, but to act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government.

The Raja to furnish troops, according to his ability, when called upon.

The British Government to protect the State of Dhar and its dependencies, and to secure the tribute of Allee to the Raja, his heirs and successors.

The British Government to cause the Pergunnah of Koohsee to be restored by the Raja of Allee to Dhar, and to aid him in all his legitimate claims on the Rajpoot States of Budnawur.

The Dhar State to give over to the British Government all the tributary rights on the principalities of Banswarra and Doongurpoor, in consideration of its protection.

The British Government to restore the province of Bairseah to Dhar when five years have elapsed; com-

mencing from the 29th day of March 1819. The revenues of these five years to be retained by the British Government, in lieu of *two lacs and fifty thousand* rupees lent to the Dhar State. At the expiration of that time the British Government is to have the option of continuing to hold the Pergunnah from the Dhar State, or to let it to any other State. The Dhar Government to exercise no authority in the Bairseah Pergunnah, but to receive the revenue from the British Government, which will make the collections.

G.

Substance of the Treaty with the State of Dewass.

THE Dewass State to be under the protection of the British Government. To keep in service a contingent of fifty good horse and fifty infantry, to be at the disposal of the British Government. The remaining troops, Sebundies, &c. to be at command when required. After three years the contingent to be increased to one hundred horse and one hundred foot. Dewass, Sarungpoor, Allote, Gurgootcheer, Ringnode, and Bajoda Pergunnahs to be under the exclusive authority of the Raja, who is also to receive seven per cent. from the collections made by Dhar from Sundoorsee and Dongalah. The British Government to assist the Raja in reducing any of his refractory Thakoors, and to mediate any differences between him and others.

The Raja to enter into no engagements, and have no communications with other States, without the consent of the British Government. The Raja to have sovereign power in his own country, and no interference to be exerted in disputes between the Raja and his family or relations.

In consideration of the desolate State of Doongla, the Raja renounces all claims on Dhar for seven per cent. on the collections made for the next three years from the above Pergunnah.

The two Rajas who rule this State conjointly, agree to have one and the same Karbaree, or minister, for the purpose of connecting the affairs of both.

H.

Abstract of the Treaty with the Raja of Pertaubghur, dated 5th October, 1818.

THE Raja to receive aid and assistance from the British Government, on condition that he holds no intercourse whatever with any State or Chief, and no one shall be allowed to demand Paishkush as long as he remains the ally of the British Government.

The Raja to pay to the British Government all arrears due to the Holkar State, amounting to one lac twenty-four thousand six hundred and seventy-five rupees six annas, by instalments, commencing in 1818, and ending in 1823; and in case of failure in payment, a Native agent of the British Government to collect taxes at the Custom-house of Pertaubghur, equal in amount to the sum due.

The Paishkush formerly paid by Pertaubghur to the Holkar State, to be transferred to the British Government, which is also to receive the tribute formerly paid to Holkar, in consideration of the assistance it is to grant to Pertaubghur.

No Arabs, Sindies, or foreign mercenaries, to remain in the pay of the Raja, who is to entertain fifty horsemen and two hundred foot soldiers of his own country. These soldiers to be employed by the Bri-

tish Government, in time of necessity, in co-operation with its own troops in the vicinity of the Pertaubghur district.

The Raja to have entire control over his own dominions; but to consult with the British Government the best means of keeping in check the Bheels and Meenahs, and of contributing to the prosperity of his country.

The Raja not to impose any taxes additional to what were formerly levied upon merchandise passing through his country, nor on his mint. The Raja to be assisted in reducing to obedience all refractory subjects, including Bheels, Meenahs, &c.

The British Government not to interfere with the Raja in the collection of his revenue, so long as he does not oppress the Ryots.

The Raja to settle all disputes between himself and his nobles in any way he pleases, without the interference of the British Government. The British Government also agrees to act as mediator in any disputes between the Raja and his Thakoors.

The British Government not to interfere with any charitable endowments of the Pertaubghur States; and to pay attention to all points connected with the religion of the Raja, or the ancient customs of the country.

I.

Abstract of the Treaty with the State of Doongurpoor, dated 11th December, 1818.

PERPETUAL friendship and alliance between the Maha Rawul and the British Government, his heirs and successors; the enemies of the one to be the enemies of the other. The State of Doongurpoor to be protected.

The Rawul to act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and to have no connexion with other Chiefs or States. The civil and criminal jurisdiction of the British Government not to be introduced into the State of Doongurpoor, of which the Rawul and his successors are to be absolute rulers. The British Government to advise in the affairs of the State, and to pay every possible attention to the wishes of the Rawul, his heirs and successors. No intercourse to be kept up with any other State or Chief, without the consent of the British Government; but the customary amicable correspondence with friends and relations to continue. No aggressions to be made on any one; and if a dispute arise, it shall be submitted to the arbitration of the British Government. The Raja and his heirs, &c. to pay all arrears of tribute due to Dhar or other States. The amount of tribute to be paid by Doongurpoor to be settled with reference to the actual revenue and receipts of the Rawul. A tribute, not exceeding six annas in the rupee, to be paid to the British Government, in lieu of the protection afforded. Troops, agreeable to the means of the Doongurpoor State, to be at the call of the British Government whenever required. No Arabs or foreign mercenaries to be kept in the pay of the Rawul, whose troops are to be composed of inhabitants of his own country. The British Government to assist the Rawul in reducing to obedience any refractory relations or Thakoors. In the case of any failure on the part of the Rawul to pay the tribute, a Karkoon, or Native agent of the British Government, to be allowed to reside at the Custom-house at Doongurpoor, for the purpose of collecting the taxes on goods, in payment of the tribute.

K.

Abstract of the Treaty with the State of Banswarra, dated 16th September, 1818.

PERPETUAL friendship, alliance, and unity of interests, to exist between the British Government and the Maha Rawul, his heirs and successors; the enemies of either to be the same to both. Banswarra to be protected. The Maha Rawul and his heirs to act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and to have no connexion with other States or Chiefs. The civil and criminal jurisdiction of the British Government not to be introduced into the territory and principality of Banswarra, of which the Maha Rawul and his heirs shall remain absolute rulers. The British Government to advise in the affairs of the principality, and the Rawul to pay all practicable attention. No negotiations with any Chief or State to be carried on without the sanction of the British Government; but the customary amicable correspondence with friends and relations to continue. No aggression to be committed on any one; and if any dispute arise, it shall be submitted to the arbitration of the British Government. Tribute to the extent of three-eighths of the revenue to be paid to the British Government. Troops, agreeable to its means, to be furnished by the State of Banswarra at the requisition of the British Government.

L.

List of petty Chiefs, Thakoors, Zemindars, &c. who pay Tribute through the medium or under the guarantee of the British Government to different Rulers in Malwa.

1.—Purbut Singh, Raja of Rutlam, to Dowlet Row Sindia—84,000 Salim Shye Rupees, to be paid regu-

larly in four kists; on failure, land to the value of the kist not paid to be taken. Sindia agrees never to send any troops into the country, or to interfere with the succession, or in its internal administration, in any way whatever. This agreement between Bappoo Sindia and the Raja of Rutlam was mediated by Sir J. Malcolm, 5th January, 1819.

2.—Raja of Sillanah to Dowlet Row Sindia—42,000 S. S. Rupees; same conditions as with Rutlam, between Bappoo Sindia and the Raja of Sillanah, mediated by Sir J. Malcolm, 5th January, 1819.

3 & 4.—Raja of Lunawarra, and Raja of Soante, to Dowlet Row Sindia—The former 12,000, the latter 7000 Salim Shye Rupees, same conditions as with Rutlam. These two are included in one agreement, between Maun Singh, Row Patunkur, and the two Rajas, mediated 10th August, 1820.

5.—Raja of Seeta Mhow to Dowlet Row Sindia—60,000 Salim Shye Rupees, same conditions as with Rutlam, mediated by Sir J. Malcolm, 21st November, 1820.

6.—Raja of Amjherra to Dowlet Row Sindia—35,000 Hallee Rupees, same conditions as with Rutlam.

7.—Prithee Singh Mundlooee of Budnawur, to the Dhar State—16,502 Hallee Rupees, same conditions as with Rutlam, mediated 16th December, 1818.

8.—Thakoor Bugwunt Singh to the Dhar State—9459 Hallee Rupees, same conditions as with Rutlam, mediated 16th December, 1818.

9.—Thakoor Sewai Singh to the Dhar State—18,044 Hallee Rupees, same conditions as with Rutlam, mediated 16th December, 1818.

10.—Muzuffer Mekranny to the Dhar State—20,000 Hallee Rupees; former tribute commuted for

the Sayer duties of Ally Mohun. Badrah to be made over to Kishree Singh. Muzuffer agrees to keep up a body of fifty men only, and to maintain the security of the road between Ally and Dhar. Mediated by Sir J. Malcolm, 8th December, 1818.

11.—Prithee Singh, Thakoor, to Ghuffoor Khan—28,000 Salim Shye Rupees; annual tribute in lieu of former tribute of 25,000 Rupees, and of arbitrary assessments amounting to upwards of 3000 Rupees. This fixed tribute to be paid in three kists of the Kutcherry of Jowrah. Ghuffoor Khan agrees to discontinue the practice of sending horsemen into the country to collect the tribute.

M.

List of Grassiahs who have received the guarantee of the British Government for an annual amount from the collections on which they had established claims.

1.—Rao Ruttun Singh; 2. Mundroop Singh, and, 3. Cheetoo Bhye, Chiefs of Sillanah and Bukutghur. —These persons are heads of a family, and had long been plunderers on the Nerbudda. In May 1818, they submitted to Sir J. Malcolm, who took some of their adherents into service under Cheetoo Bhye, (commonly called Chutter Singh,) to whom, and to Rao Ruttun Singh and Mundroop Singh, a pay of 100 Rupees per mensem was respectively assigned. Their claims for Tankah upon the Governments of Sindia and Holkar were settled at half the amount; and Sindia now pays 4038 Rupees, and Holkar 778½ Rupees. An engagement was given to these Chiefs, dated 13th May 1820, securing to them the above amount of Tankah, in all 4816½ Rupees, in the event of the Eng-

lish Government discontinuing their pay and discharging their adherents.

4.—Nadir, Potail, from Holkar.—2564 Hallee Rupees annual Tankah. To be paid from the Kutcherry, and not to be collected by Nadir himself. He is to protect the country from Jaum to Nalcha, and to be accountable for all excesses committed within his limits.

5.—Bheeman Singh, from Holkar.—After Nadir's banishment from Malwa in May 1820, an agreement was given to his son Bheeman Singh, guaranteeing to him from the Holkar State all Tankah, &c. which his father received under the same conditions. This agreement is dated 8th May 1820.

Settlements mediated by Major Henley.

6.—Rao Koshal Singh, from the British Government, Sindia, Holkar, and the Nabob of Bhopal —8615 Rupees annually, to be paid from the Kutcherry.

7.—Rao Newul Singh, from Sindia and Holkar—5400 ditto.

8.—Dewan Salim Singh, from Sindia and Holkar—7675 ditto.

9.—Soodhan Singh, from the British Government, Sindia, and the Nabob of Bhopal—4480 ditto.

10.—Oodajee, from Sindia and British Government—4600 ditto.

11.—Goburdun Singh, from Sindia and the Nabob of Bhopal—5000 Rupees, and to pay 800 Rupees annually from this amount to Kokoorgee Burgoogur.

12.—Soobah Singh, from Sindia, Holkar, and the Nabob of Bhopal—4250 Rupees annually, to be paid from the Kutcherry.

13.—Row Bhyroe Singh, from Sindia, Holkar, and the Nabob of Bhopal—6449 Rupees annually, to be paid from the Kutcherry.

14.—Muckoond Singh, from Sindia and Holkar—1540 ditto.

15.—Anoop Singh, from ditto—852 ditto.

16.—Peim Singh, from Sindia—112 ditto.

17.—Rawul Newul Singh, from the Nabob—5001 ditto.

18.—Koowur Chyne Singh, from the Nabob and Sindia—6201 ditto.

19.—Salimjee and Hutta Singh, from Sindia, Holkar, and Bhopal—3426 ditto.

20.—Rao Anoop Singh, from Sindia—1750 ditto.

21.—Rao Futty Singh, from Sindia—1200 ditto.

22.—Thakoor Neerby Singh, from the Nabob of Khoonoy—522 ditto.

Settlements mediated by Captain Borthwick.

23.—Goolab Singh, from Sindia—1400 ditto.

24.—Hutty Singh, from Sindia—1570 ditto.

25.—Sahib Singh, from Sindia—3200 ditto.

26.—Anoop Singh, from Sindia—180 ditto.

27.—Geerwar Singh, from Sindia—820 ditto.

28.—Rao Ruttun Singh, from Sindia—2776 ditto.

29.—Utchil Singh, from Sindia—1400 ditto.

30.—Salim Singh, from Sindia—2200 ditto.

31.—Pertaub Singh, from Sindia—2400 ditto.

32.—Bharut Singh, from Sindia—114 ditto.

33.—Sirdar Singh, from Sindia—186 ditto.

34.—Nahur Singh, from Sindia—190 ditto.

35.—Peertagee, from Sindia—470 ditto.

36.—Newul Singh, from Sindia—430 ditto.

37.—Sawut Singh, from Sindia—2824 ditto.

38.—Sahib Singh, from Holkar—800 Rupees annually, to be paid from the Kutcherry.

39.—Rao Utchil Singh, from Holkar—350 ditto.

40.—Sawunt Singh, from Holkar—1000 ditto.

41 —Nahir Singh, from Holkar—190 ditto.

42.—Salim Singh, from Holkar—An abatement in the rent of land has been allowed to Salim Singh in lieu of grass claims.

43.—Pertaub Singh, from Holkar—960 Rupees annually, to be paid from the Kutcherry.

44.—Gholab Singh, from Holkar—600 ditto.

45.—Newul Singh, from Holkar—40 ditto.

46.—Geerwur Singh, from Holkar—430 ditto.

47.—Hutty Singh, from Holkar—1600 ditto.

48.—Rao Ruttun Singh, from Holkar—1150 ditto.

49.—Rao Zalim Singh, from Kotah—400 ditto.

N.

List of Miscellaneous Settlements, &c. with petty Chiefs, Thakoors, &c. through the medium or under the guarantee of the British Government, regarding Lands, Disputes, &c.

1.—Chunder Singh Thakoor with the Dhar State.—To pay the Dhar State 2501 Rupees annually. In case of failure, land to the amount of the deficiency to be taken. Mediated 16th December, 1818.

2.—Rany of Ally Mohun with the Dhar State.—The Dhar State to pay the Rany 1200 Rupees annually, from the proceeds of the duties collected in Ally Mohun by that Government.

3.—Mohun Singh and Futty Singh with the Dhar State.—To pay the Dhar State 1425 Hallee Rupees annual Tankah, for a grant of eleven villages in Dhur-

rumpooree Pergunnah; to keep the roads free from thieves, and be accountable for all robberies, &c. committed within their limits.

4.—Seo Singh of Neemkhairah with the Dhar State. —A grant of the village of Tirlah, subject to an annual payment of 500 Rupees.

5.—Prithee Singh and Mohun Singh with the Dhar State.—A grant of seven villages, subject after the seventh year to an annual payment of 752 Rupees, and for another village a Paishkush of 101 Rupees annually.

6.—Mundroop Singh, with the Dhar State.—A grant of seven villages, subject after the seventh year to an annual payment of 726 Rupees.

7.—Hutty Singh with the Dhar Government.—A grant for six villages, to pay 525 Rupees annually to the Dhar Government.

8.—Futty Singh and Chyne Singh with the Dhar State.—A grant for six villages, subject to an annual payment of 1425 Rupees, and a Paishkush for another village of 101 Rupees annually.

9.—Thakoor of Baglee with the Komisdar of Sonekutch.—The Thakoor withheld for six years part of the revenue for lands in the Pergunnah of Sonekutch, paying only 3488 Rupees, instead of 5562, to the Komisdar, who complained to Sir John Malcolm: settled that the Thakoor should have an Istumrar grant for the lands in dispute, paying annually 5562 Rupees. Mediated 31st October, 1819.

10.—Thakoor of Baglee with the Komisdar of Sonekutch.—This settlement is nearly the same as the foregoing: agreed that the Thakoor pay 909 Rupees, instead of 809, for five villages, which he held. 31st October, 1819.

11.—Thakoor of Baglee with the Komisdar of Sone-

kutch.—The Thakoor held nine villages on Ijareh Pottah, or rent lease, for five years. The Komisdar, thinking the assessment too small, resumed the villages. The former complained to Sir J. Malcolm, who decided that the Pottah held good till the expiration of the lease, on which the Komisdar might, if he pleased, increase the assessment. 31st October, 1819.

12.—Thakoor of Baglee with the Komisdar of Sonekutch.—The Thakoor cultivated lands in the vicinity of Chayn rent free. The Komisdar produced a document, by which it appeared that the former had paid twenty-four years ago 150 Rupees rent for the lands, in consequence of which he demanded the same amount. Decided that, as no rent had been paid for the last twenty-four years, the demand was unjust. 31st October, 1819.

13.—Bishen Singh Mundlovee with Bikajee, Komisdar of Durgong.—Bishen Singh claimed certain dues from the Pergunnah, which the Komisdar refused, as being unjust. On reference, Sir J. Malcolm decided that the former should have five per cent. Damee land, agreeable to the existing Sunnud; four Rupees Bheit from each village; one Rupee Bheit for each renewed Pottah; two villages in Enam, and one-fourth of the collections on Sayer, &c. 29th November, 1819.

14.—Futty Singh and Chyne Singh, Bhomiahs, with the Managers of Sagore.—The Bhomiahs paid a Tankah of 1503 Rupees annually for three villages, which having become deserted, the Tankah could not be realized. The Managers required them to pay the Tankah, or give up the villages. They now agree to pay a progressive rent till the fourth year, when it will be 1503 Rupees, and in failure of annual payments to lose their villages. 6th April, 1820.

15.—Nadir Singh, Potail, with the Managers of Decktaun.—Nadir held four villages in the Pergunnah fourteen years ago, on condition that he was to pay a certain sum annually. The Managers complained that nothing had been paid from that time. Settled that an Istumrar grant of 251 Rupees be given, and if not paid within three months after it is due, the villages to be resumed. 8th October, 1819.

16.—Bheeman Singh with the Managers of Decktaun.—Nadir Singh, Bheeman Singh's father, held the villages of Koonjrode for 81 Rupees annually. Nothing, however, had been paid to the Managers for the last fourteen years, and it was settled to the satisfaction of both parties, that an Istumrar grant be given to Bheeman Singh, he paying 401 Rupees annually, on account of the prosperous state of the village. 8th October, 1819.

17.—Gopal Singh with Letchmun Singh.—Gopal Singh held of Letchmun Singh 455 begahs of land in Enam, for service, and another village, paying for it a Tankah of 500 Rupees. The latter wished to resume the village and the begahs of land, as there was no service required to be performed. Settled that Gopal Singh pay 500 Rupees for the village, and 200 Rupees for the land, also a batta of 12½ per cent. on the above amount.

18.—Bugwunt Singh, Raja of Kachee Barode, with Prithee Singh, Mundlovee of Buckutghur.—The discontinuance of Mundlovee dues on certain of the Kachee Barode villages which had been extinct for upwards of thirty years, is by this settlement decided, and the claims of the Raja to the villages of Doodwul and Donjakaire were recognized. 15th October, 1819.

19.—Holkar and Dhar Government.—Both States

brought forward claims for lands near Bijore and Debalpoor. As it was impossible to ascertain correctly the boundary, it was agreed that the lands be left neutral for the purpose of pasturing cattle. Mediated 15th April, 1820.

20.—Soodhan Singh, of Bheelwarra, with Bowany Doss.—This was a dispute between Soodhan Singh and Bhowanny Doss, because the latter appropriated to himself the donations to the god Devy: settled that Soodhan Singh pay Bowany Doss a certain sum, and the latter not to interfere with the collections made from devotees. 4th December, 1819.

21.—Koshal Singh Row with the Holkar State.—Koshal Singh claimed Heerapoor in Jaghire: settled that he shall hold it five years Pugris, or rent free, after which to pay 600 Rupees annually. 20th May, 1820.

22.—Bheeman Singh with the Holkar State.—Nadir Singh held the village of Kairee in lieu of 150 Rupees per annum, for maintaining the security of the Doorjunpoor Ghaut. Holkar's Government wished to resume the village and pay the amount from the Kutcherry. Settled that Bheeman Singh hold the village, and pay after five years 601 Rupees, deducting 150 Rupees for the protection of the Ghaut. 4th October, 1820.

23.—Mohun Singh with the Holkar State.—Mohun Singh's father held 300 begahs of land for village service from the Government, but on his death the land was resumed: settled that Mohun Singh receive a grant of 100 begahs in Enam. June 1820.

24.—Purbut Singh and Raghonat Singh, Zemindars, with the Holkar State.—The Zemindars to maintain the security of the Simrole Ghaut, and to receive the taxes on merchandise, &c. levied in Alia Bhye's time. March 1819.

25.—Onkar Lal, Zemindar, with Manick Ramjunnee. —Onkar Lal to pay 500 Rupees annually to Manick Ramjunnee, whose nose had been cut off at the instigation of Onkar's mother, and who was also plundered of all her property. September 1820.

26.—Tezah Turwee with the Holkar Government.— Holkar State agrees to entertain in its service seven of the Turwee's adherents, and to give him two villages in Ijareh, or rent, subject after the seventh year to a payment of one Rupee per begah, on condition that the Turwee make no farther collections on passengers and goods between Mhow and Jaum, and be responsible for all robberies, &c. 25th January, 1819.

27.—Bheeman Turwee with the Holkar Government. —Same conditions for protecting the roads between Simrole Ghaut and Sigwar.

28.—Kishen Row Madhoo Boscottah with the British Government.—The British Government to pay Madhoo Row 2700 Rupees annually, in lieu of Zemindary dues upon the Pergunnahs of Kusroude, Kaunapoor, and Burdiah, and a grant in Enam of the village of Chota Kusroude, paying for four successive years 500 Rupees annually, as his share of Sebundy expenses. July 1819.

Settlements mediated by Major Henley.

29.—Soobhah Singh Burgoorjur.—A grant from the British Government, for a half-assessed Jaghire of three villages in Eastern Shujahalpoor, with a reservation of an annual payment of 1400 Rupees to Government.

30.—Rao Bhyroo Singh Gond.—A grant from Holkar of the village Heerapoor and its dependencies, subject to an annual payment of 600 Rupees after the year Fuslee 1235; a grant from Sindia of the village

Keyrokal, and a grant from Dhar of sixteen villages in Mukrar, subject after five years to a payment of 1001 Rupees annually.

31.—Muckoond Singh Gond.—A grant from Sindia of thirty-six villages in Hurdah and Hindia, subject after five years to a payment of 1001 Rupees annually.

32.—Anoop Singh Gond.—A grant for life of the village of Singpore, and two others from Mucksood Singh.

33.—Piem Singh Gond.—A grant from Sindia of Poonghaut and twelve villages, subject after five years to a payment of 401 Rupees annually.

34.—Rany Ruttun Bhye of Chandghur.—Holding Chandghur, Burkaisur, and thirty-six villages, regarding which no settlement has hitherto been made; also a claim to one-third of the land-revenue of seventeen villages in Charwar.

35.—Rao Devy Singh Gond.—A Jaghire of Dhairee, and a Bheit, or due, of five Rupees, and two Rupees per cent. on the revenue from each village in Lemunpoor Mukraye.

36.—Goolab Rao Gond.—Ramghur in Jaghire, a Bheit of five Rupees from each village, a Damee of one per cent. on the revenue.

37.—Bulwunt Singh Grassiah.—Four half-assessed villages in Bersiah, and the village of Chandwar, and five others in Jaghire from Bhopal.

38.—Letchmun Singh and Isseree Singh Grassiahs.—Seven half-assessed villages in Bersiah, and three villages in Jaghire from Bhopal.

39.—Thakoor Neerby Singh.—Village of Chupper in Jaghire, 150 begahs free land in Odeypoor, twelve villages of Shumshabad, five of Bhilsah, and seventeen of Seronge, on an Istumrar Sunnud.

40.—Thakoor Salim Singh.—Puprail in Jaghire from the Dewan of Kilcheepoor.

41.—Thakoor Ragonauth Singh.—A grant of Gogumey and twenty villages from Holkar, subject after Fuslee 1230 to an annual payment of 1500 Rupees.

42.—Rao Ruttun Singh, Thakoor, with Sindia's Government.—The renewal of an annual tribute to Sindia's Government of 825 Rupees, which had been for some years discontinued, (not formally confirmed).

43.—Rawul Doorjun Singh with the Kotah Government.—The village of Seedra, which has been held by the Rawul's family in Jaghire from time immemorial, is continued to him by the Government, and in place of a horse, which was annually given in Nuzzer, it is stipulated that the Rawul shall pay tribute of 100 Rupees annually.

44.—Gopal Singh with Bheem Singh.—Gopal Singh holds in perpetual Jaghire of Sukhetkeira from Bheem Singh for services rendered, paying an annual tribute of 500 Rupees. Gopal Singh was to continue to render military service when required for this Jaghire; but it is stipulated that in lieu of this, he shall pay to Bheem Singh an additional tribute of 300 Rupees, in all 800 Rupees, annual tribute to be paid to Bheem Singh.

45.—Prithee Singh, Mundlovee, with the Dhar Government.—Prithee Singh's Mundlovee dues on the Pergunnah of Budnawur regulated.

No. XVII.

Abstract of the Plan on which it was intended to have introduced Punjayets into Central India.

THE principal officer of the new system to be a Superintendent of Punjayets, who, without either the name or exact duties of a judge, would be (under the Lieutenant-Governor) the representative of Government in its judicial character.

The Superintendent of Punjayets to have one or more Registers or Assistants, as circumstances required.

A Native establishment, consisting of a Sudder Ameen, learned Shastry, Moollah, and some Native Writers, to be attached to the Superintendent of Punjayets.

The local Collector of the revenue to exercise the powers of Magistrate, and to be at the head of the Police, as under the Governments of Madras and Bombay.

Punjayet courts of arbitration to be encouraged to sit and decide upon petty disputes without reference to Government officers; but in all cases where forms were complete according to local usage, aid to be given to enforce awards.

A Munsiff, or Native judge, to be nominated from among the most respectable inhabitants to each prin-

cipal town or district, with limited power to determine causes and to imprison and distrain property of debtors or delinquents. Potails of villages to have a jurisdiction as petty Munsiffs, with limited power to hear and judge small cases and to settle disputes.

In cities and districts, some of the principal inhabitants (including the Munsiffs) may be distinguished by the name of Mookhs or heads, and sit as the Presidents of Punjayets.

The members of Punjayets to be taken from the most respectable men of every class.

The Canoongoe, or writer, of the district, town, or village, to act as Register, and to write a copy of the proceedings.

Tribes and castes under the most despotic rulers name their own heads, who would be, from their condition, eligible members of Punjayets; and it is a duty they owe to their tribe and the public to sit upon them.

The British government have great claims upon numbers of the first classes of the inhabitants in Central India, as they have continued estates, pensions, and dues to religious institutions, and learned Moollahs and Brahmins; also to Zemindars, Chowdries, Mundlooees, Dessayes, Daishmookhs, Canoongoes, Potails, Putwarries, and to all the principal religious and civil local officers of the former Government. Many of the above receive pay or possess lands, which descend to their children, though their duties are obsolete and cannot be revived (from the difference of our system of government) in the exact form in which they existed under the Native states. But this is no reason why these persons should live as

drones in the community; other duties should be given to them, and these may be expected to render them useful members of society, and give them a happiness they cannot enjoy without occupation, and at the same time make a return to Government for the great expense it incurs in supporting them. For instance, Vinkut Row, Shastry of Mundleysir, inherits a Jaghire which, when wholly made over to him, yields 30,000 Rs. per annum. The principal man of this family formerly owed not only attendance, but the aid of his advice on all questions of religion, to his Prince. This latter part of his duty the British government have a right to make a condition of the boon they grant or continue. They can insist on the representative acting as chief Shastry to the country or province; and, if from any cause he is unable to perform its functions, they can, accordant with usage, make him send a substitute, whose allowance from the family for whom he acts should, while he was employed, be fixed under their guarantee. The same principle would apply to large and small religious grants, whether to institutions or individuals, and would furnish, without cost, all of this class that could be required in provinces, towns, or districts. Provincial hereditary officers*, who enjoy estates or pensions, and have no employment under the British government, are in sufficient number to furnish many of the Munsiffs, Mookhs, and Registers of Punjayets. They are, generally speaking, the fittest persons, from hereditary rank and station, for such offices, which are suited to

* Zemindars, Canoongoes, &c. &c.

their knowledge, their habits, and their condition in the community.

Men who are not acquainted with the usage of Native states are startled at the idea of an hereditary Judge or Register; but they must be informed, that it is a duty, whether it relates to a province or village, which a family, not an individual, has to perform. If the representative is unfit, another member satisfactory to the Government must be found. Intermarriages and adoptions furnish ample room for choice; and the share allotted to the efficient representative of the family, who acts officially as its head, is quite understood. If the head of a family, or his representative, misbehave, there can be no better punishment than his removal, which would deprive him at once of that influence and income which he derived from the performance of his duties; and it should be a rule that where a family could not furnish an acceptable Munsiff, Mookh, or Canoongoe, a temporary alienation from its possessions or income should take place for the whole or part payment of a person qualified to perform the duties.

The nomination of the Mookhs or Presidents, particularly in cities, to be taken by the general voice of the people, which, from their being in classes having acknowledged and respected heads, and being on all such occasions their admitted organs, is easily collected.

Punjayet courts of arbitration will be no expense; but those formed for the trial of civil causes must be attended with some, which will, however, be greatly lessened by the means alluded

to of rendering such duties obligatory on certain classes, to whom pensions have been or may be assigned; but such even will require to be stimulated by marks of honour and distinction, if not by money reward. It must be the study of the British government to raise these persons in the estimation of their countrymen; and on its success must greatly depend the character and efficiency of this system of jurisdiction.

The auxiliary Judges, for such the principal members of these Punjayets may be termed, may require some pecuniary consideration, at least during the time they sit. The periods of their sittings may be regulated so as to interfere as little as possible with the business and festivals of the majority of the inhabitants. Though only two auxiliary judges or members of a Punjayet may be required at a time, at least treble that number should be deemed liable to the duty; but these rules will only apply to cities and towns where disputes are frequent.

Another and no slight reward to these members will be a regulation which limits the selection of successors to the stations of Mookhs and Munsiffs to the most distinguished of this class; which, beyond the effect of encouraging them, will secure all men promoted to these offices, having adequate local experience and character.

The Munsiff or chief Mookh, to be obliged, when cases exceed a certain amount, to call a Punjayet, but not to attend unless it is his turn to sit as Mookh. The Mookhs, if there are more than one, to sit in rotation, unless when prevented by sickness or urgent business, or when the case concerns them or any of their relations. The mode of rotation

for the President as well as the members of these courts would be a matter of minute regulation.

Every civil cause exceeding a certain amount must be brought before a Punjayet, (if this is not made obligatory upon the parties,) and in ordinary cases neither the Superintendent nor his Assistants to attend or interfere with the Punjayet; but a superior Punjayet, whose members are to be chosen from the first persons of the country, to hear appeals, which must be made within a limited period, from the decision of the court where the case was first tried.

The Superintendent of Punjayets, or one of his Registers or Assistants acting for him, to preside in the court of appeal.

No Vakeels or pleaders beyond such as are found accordant with the former usage of the country, to be admitted.

In enforcing attendance of members and of evidence, and in carrying the award into execution, those rules and regulations to be introduced which best reconcile attention to the usages of the Natives with our own principles of rule. This is a matter of detail, but one in which, particularly as it relates to attendance of the members, there will be some difficulty.

No complaints of injustice or oppression against the Collector or his servants to be cognizable by the ordinary Courts of Punjayet, unless where the Collector chooses to refer to them, in which case their decision to be final, except appealed from. All complaints of this description against Native revenue officers or servants to be tried by the Superior Punjayet, in which the Superintendent presides, and which will be a Court of Circuit.

The establishment of Punjayets in small districts and villages to be upon the same principle as above described, with consideration for the different state of the community; and this will extend to the rudest classes, including the Bheels, who can only be reclaimed from their habits by having the chiefs and heads of their own community rendered the instruments of their reform.

In criminal cases, when a robber or murderer is apprehended, examinations to be taken, as in many parts of Central India, by a Punjayet on the spot called upon by the magistrate or his officer, and their report to the Superintendent to be the ground of committal for trial, or the release of the prisoner.

Criminal cases to be tried by the Superior or Appeal Punjayet, in which the Superintendent will preside, aided by a Register and Native law officers. The sentence of this Court when affecting life, not to be carried into execution till confirmed by the Officer at the head of the administration of the country.

No. XVIII.

Notes of Instructions to Assistants and Officers acting under the orders of Major-General Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B.

THESE instructions are grounded upon principles which it has been my constant effort to inculcate upon all officers acting under my orders; and, at a period when I am leaving Central India, (perhaps not to return,) I feel it a duty I owe to them, to myself, and to the public service, to enter into a more full explanation of my sentiments upon the subject of our general and local rule, than could have been necessary under any other circumstances.

General Observations.

Almost all who from knowledge and experience have been capable of forming any judgment upon the question, are agreed that our power in India rests on the general opinion of the Natives of our comparative superiority in good faith, wisdom, and strength, to their own rulers. This important impression will be improved by the consideration we shew to their habits, institutions, and religion, by the moderation, temper, and kindness with which we conduct ourselves towards them; and injured by every act that offends their belief or superstition, that shews disregard or neglect of individuals or communities, or that evinces our having with the arrogance of conquerors forgotten those maxims by which this great empire has been established, and by which alone it can be preserved.

(The want of union of the Natives appears one of the strongest foundations of our power; it has certainly contributed, beyond all others, to its establishment.) But, when we trace this cause, we find it to have originated in the condition in which we found India, and the line we adopted towards its inhabitants; that it will continue to operate when the condition of that country is changed, and under any alteration in our course of proceedings, is more than can be assumed. The similarity of the situation of the great proportion of the people of this continent now subject to our rule, will assuredly make them more accessible to common motives of action, which is the foundation of all union; and the absence of that necessity for conciliation, which changes have effected, will make us more likely to forget its importance. Our power has hitherto owed much to a contrast with misrule and oppression; but this strength we are daily losing:—we have also been indebted to an indefinite impression of our resources, originating in ignorance of their real extent; knowledge will bring this feeling to a reduced standard. We are supported by the good opinion of the lower and middling classes, to whom our government is indulgent; but it has received the rudest shocks from an impression that our system of rule is at variance with the permanent continuance of rank, authority, and distinction in any Native of India. This belief, which is not without foundation, is general to every class, and its action leaves but an anxious and feverish existence to all who enjoy station and high name: the feeling which their condition excites exposes those who have left to them any portion of power and independence, to the arts of the discon-

tented, the turbulent, and the ambitious: this is a danger to our power, which must increase in the ratio of its extent, unless we can counteract its operation by a commensurate improvement of our administration.

Our greatest strength, perhaps, and that which gives the fairest hopes of the duration of our rule over India, arises out of the singular construction of the frame of both the controlling and the executive Government. Patronage in all the branches of the local government of India is exercised under much limitation and check; favour effects less in this country, and competency more, than in any other scene of equal magnitude. There is an interminable field for individual exertion; and though men high in station are almost absolute, (and the character of our rule requires they should be so,) there is, in that jealousy of such power which belongs to our native country, a very efficient shield against its abuse. This keeps men from being intoxicated with their short-lived authority, and the fundamental principles which discourage colonization prevent public servants taking root in the soil, and make them proceed to the duties of government, as they would in other countries to the routine of an office, which employs their talents without agitating their personal feelings and interests, in any degree that can disturb or bias their judgment. This absence of baneful passions, and of all the arts of intrigue and ambition which destroy empires, produces a calmness of mind that can belong alone to the rulers of a country situated as the English employed in India now are, and gives them an advantage, which

almost balances the bad effects of their want of those national ties that usually constitute the strength of governments.

(Our success and moderation, contrasted with the misrule and violence to which a great part of the population of India have for more than a century been exposed, have at this moment raised the reputation of the British Nation so high, that men have forgotten, in the contemplation of the security and prosperity they enjoy under strangers, their feelings of patriotism; but these are feelings which that very knowledge that it is our duty to impart must gradually revive and bring into action. The people of India must, by a recurring sense of benefits, have amends made them for the degradation of continuing subject to foreign masters; and this can alone be done by the combined efforts of every individual employed in a station of trust and responsibility, to render popular a government which, though not national, has its foundations laid deep on the principles of toleration, justice, and wisdom.) Every agent of government should study and understand the above facts. He should not content himself with having acquired a knowledge of the languages, and of the customs, of those with whom he has intercourse. All his particular acts (even to the manner of them) should be regulated by recurrence to the foundation of our rule, and a careful observation of those principles by which it has been established and can alone be maintained. Of the importance of this I cannot better state my opinion, than by expressing my full conviction, that, independent of the prescribed duties which every qualified officer performs, there is no person in a situation of any consequence who does

not, both in the substance and manner of his conduct, do something every day in his life, which, as it operates upon the general interests of the empire through the feelings of the circle he controls or rules, has an unseen effect in strengthening or weakening the government by which he is employed. My belief that what I have assumed is correct, will be my excuse for going into some minuteness in my general instructions to those under my orders.

Manner towards the Natives.

The first and one of the most important points, is the manner of European superiors towards the Natives. It would be quite out of place, in this paper, to speak of the necessity of kindness, and of an absence of all violence; this must be a matter of course with those to whom it is addressed: there is much more required from them than that conciliation which is a duty, but which, when it appears as such, loses half its effect. It must, to make an impression, be a habit of the mind, grounded on a favourable consideration of the qualities and merits of those to whom it extends; and this impression, I am satisfied, every person will have, who, after attaining a thorough knowledge of the real character of those with whom he has intercourse, shall judge them, without prejudice or self-conceit, by a standard which is suited to their belief, their usages, their habits, their occupations, their rank in life, the ideas they have imbibed from infancy, and the stage of civilization to which the community as a whole are advanced. If he does so, with that knowledge and that temper of mind which are essential to render him competent to form an opinion, he will find enough of virtue, enough of docility, and disposition to improvement,

enough of regard and observance of all the best and most sacred ties of society, to create an esteem for individuals, and an interest in the community; which, when grounded on a sincere conviction of its being deserved, will render his kindness natural and conciliating.) All human beings, down to the lowest links of the chain, inclusive of children, are quick in tracing the source of the manners of others, and, above all, of their superiors:—when that is regulated by the head, not the heart; when it proceeds from reason, not from feeling, it cannot please; for it has in it, if at all artificial, a show of design which repels, as it generates suspicion. When this manner takes another shape, when kindness and consideration appear as acts of condescension, it must be felt as offensive. (Men may dread, but can never love or regard, those who are continually humiliating them by the parade of superiority.)

(I have recommended those foundations of manner, towards the Natives of India, upon which I feel my own to be grounded. I can recollect (and I do it with shame) the period when I thought I was very superior to those with whom my duty made me associate; but as my knowledge of them, and of myself, improved, the distance between us gradually lessened. I have seen and heard much of our boasted advantages over them, but cannot think that, if all the ranks of the different communities of Europe and India are comparatively viewed, there is just ground for any very arrogant feeling on the part of the inhabitants of the former: nor can I join in that common-place opinion which condemns in a sweeping way the Natives of this country as men, taking the best of them, not only unworthy of trust,

and devoid of principle, but of too limited intelligence and reach of thought, to allow of Europeans, with large and liberal minds and education, having rational or satisfactory intercourse with them. Such impressions, if admitted, must prove vital as to the manner of treating the Natives of India: I shall therefore say a few words upon the justice of the grounds upon which they rest. The man who considers them in this light can grant little or no credit to the high characters and the eulogies which are given to individuals and great bodies of men in their own histories, traditions, and records. He must then judge them by his own observations and knowledge, and his opinion will in all probability be formed not comparatively with Europeans of their own class of life, but with the public servants of government: a class of men who are carefully educated, whose ambition is stimulated by the highest prospects of preferment, and whose integrity is preserved by adequate salaries through every grade of their service. Before this last principle was introduced, (which is little more than thirty years,) the European servants of government were in the habit of making money in modes not unsimilar to those we now reproach the Natives in our employ with doing; and it may here be asked, if the same endeavours have been made to alter the habits of the latter as the former. I believe the exact contrary to be the fact, and that the system since introduced has not operated more to elevate the European, than to sink and depress the Native character; but this is not the place for the discussion of this large question.

Many of the moral defects of the Natives of India are to be referred to that misrule and oppression

from which they are now in a great degree emancipated. I do not know the example of any great population, in similar circumstances, preserving, through such a period of changes and tyrannical rule, so much of virtue and so many good qualities as are to be found in a great proportion of the inhabitants of this country.) This is to be accounted for, in some degree, by the institutions of the Hindu, particularly that of Caste, which appears to have raised them to their present rank in human society, at a very remote period; but it has certainly tended to keep them stationary at that point of civil order to which they were thus early advanced. With a just admiration of the effects of many of their institutions, particularly those parts of them which cause in vast classes not merely an absence of the common vices of theft, drunkenness, and violence, but preserve all the virtuous ties of family and kindred relations, we must all deplore some of their usages and weak superstitions: but what individuals or what races of men are without great and manifold errors and imperfections, and what mind that is not fortified with ignorance or pride can, on such grounds, come to a severe judgment against a people like that of India.

(I must here however remark, that I have invariably found, unless in a few cases where knowledge had not overcome self-sufficiency and arrogance, that in proportion as European officers, civil and military, advanced in their acquaintance with the language and customs of the Natives of India, they became more sincerely kind to them; and, on the contrary, ignorance always accompanied that selfish pride and want of consideration which held them light, or treated them with harshness.)

I am quite satisfied in my own mind that if there is one cause more than another, that will impede our progress to the general improvement of India, it is a belief formed by its population, from the manner of their English superiors, that they are viewed by them as an inferior and degraded race: but, on the contrary, if the persons employed in every branch of the administration of this great country, while their conduct marks those rigid principles of virtue and justice, under the check of which they act, comport themselves towards the people whom it is their duty to make happy with that sincere humility of heart which always belongs to real knowledge, and which attaches while it elevates, they will contribute by such manner, more than any measures of boasted wisdom ever can, to the strength and duration of their government.

It is of importance, before I conclude this part of the subject, to state my opinion, that in our manner to the Natives, though it is our duty to understand and to pay every proper deference to their customs and usages, and to conform to these as far as we can with propriety, particularly on points where the religious prejudices or the rank of those with whom we have intercourse require it, yet we should always preserve the European; for to adopt their manners is a departure from the very principle on which every impression of our superiority that rests upon good foundation is grounded. We should take a lesson on such points from what we see occur to Native Princes and others, who ape English habits and modes: they lose ground with one class—that to which they belong, without gaining with the other—that to which they wish to approximate. The fact is,

they ultimately lose with the latter, for even their attachment is useless, when they cease to have influence with their own tribe. The European officer who assumes Native manners and usages may please a few individuals, who are flattered or profited by his departure from the habits of his country; but even with these, familiarity will not be found to increase respect, and the adoption of such a course will be sure to sink him in the estimation of the mass of the community, both European and Native, among whom he resides.

Intercourse.

The intercourse to be maintained with the Natives within your circle is of two kinds,—Private and Official.

Private Intercourse.

The first should extend as much as possible to all ranks and classes, and be as familiar, as kind, and as frequent, as the difference of habits and pursuits will admit.

There is a veil between the Natives of India and their European superiors, which leaves the latter ignorant, in an extraordinary degree, of the real character of the former. He can only judge his own domestics by what he sees of their conduct in his presence; of the manner in which they perform their other duties in life, he is, if not ignorant, but imperfectly informed: so many minute obstacles, grounded upon caste, usages, and religion, oppose an approach to closer acquaintance, that it can never be generally attained; but in private intercourse much may be learnt that will facilitate the performance of public duty, and give that knowledge of the usages and feelings of the various classes of the Natives, which will enable its possessors to touch every chord with effect. In joining with them in

field sports, in an unceremonious interchange of visits with the most respectable, and in seeking the society of the most learned, the European public officer will not only gain much information, but impart complete confidence, and lay the grounds of that personal attachment which will ever be found of the greatest aid to his public labours. He will also obtain by such habits of private intercourse the means of elevating those he esteems by marks of notice and regard; but in pursuing this course he must beware, lest he lose his object by falling into the weaknesses or indulgences of the persons with whom he thus associates. It is in the performance of this part of his duty, when all the pride of station is laid aside, that he must most carefully guard that real superiority, which he derives from better knowledge and truer principles of morality and religion; for it is from the impression made by the possession, without the ostentation, of those higher qualities, that he must expect the benefits I have described as likely to result from a familiar and private intercourse with the Natives under his direction and control.

Official Intercourse.

In all official intercourse with the Natives, one of the first points of importance is, that these, whatever be their rank, class, or business, should have complete and easy access to personal communication with their European superior. The necessity of this arises out of the character of our rule, and of those over whom it is established. It is sufficiently galling for the people of India to have foreign masters; the impression this feeling must continually excite can only be mitigated or removed by a recurring sense of the advantages they derive from the wisdom and

Importance of direct communication in Intercourse.

justice of their European superiors, and this can alone be effected by direct communication with them. Though Native servants must be employed and trusted, and though it is quite essential to behave to all with kindness, and to raise the higher classes of them by a treatment which combines consideration and respect, yet they can never without hazard be used as exclusive mediums of communication: their real or supposed influence will, under whatever circumstances they are allowed frequent approach to an European officer in the exercise of authority, give them opportunities of abusing his confidence if they desire it; and as our servants, who are seldom selected from the higher classes, cannot be supposed to have even the same motives with those of Native rulers for good conduct, much less the same title to regard, men under our power will have, in aggravation of the feeling arising out of subjection to foreign rule, that of being to a certain extent at the mercy of persons of their own nation whom they neither trust nor respect. There is no remedy for such an evil except being completely easy of access; but this, however much the superior may desire it, is not to be established without difficulty and perseverance. It affects the interest and consequence of every man in his employ from the highest to the lowest; but in proportion to their efforts to counteract it, so must his be to carry this important point on which, more than all others, the integrity of his personal administration and the good of the country depend. No Native servant, high or low, must be allowed the privilege of either introducing or stopping an applicant or a complainant; all such must come with confidence to the European superior, or to such assist-

ant as he may specifically direct to receive or hear them. It requires much temper and patience, constant activity, and no slight sacrifice of personal comfort, to maintain an intercourse with the Natives upon this footing; but unless it be done, (I speak here from the fullest experience,) the government of control now established in Central India cannot be carried on for any period, and the changes which must ensue from relaxation in this particular will be brought about in the manner most unfavourable to our character and reputation.

In establishing this direct personal intercourse, it is perhaps better, when the habits are so formed as to admit of it, that Natives of all classes and ranks should have admission and be heard at whatever hour of the day they come, except those of meals; but where such constant intrusion is found to interrupt other business, as it may be with many, certain portions of every day must be set aside to hear representations and complaints, and to see those who desire to be seen. The establishment of direct intercourse is, in my opinion, a primary and indispensable duty, and one no more dependent upon the inclination or judgment of the individuals to whom the charge of managing or controlling these countries is intrusted, than it is to an officer whether he shall attend his parade, or to a judge whether he shall sit a certain number of hours in his court: indeed, I consider that late events have so completely altered our condition in India, that the duties of almost every officer in the political department have become in a great degree magisterial, and, as such, must be more defined, and subject to more exact rules, than they formerly were.

Our right of interference (as will be shewn hereafter) is so limited, that it is not in one case in a hundred, of those that are brought forward, that an officer can do more than state calmly and clearly, to the party who seeks redress, the reasons and principles which prevent him from attending to his representation or complaint. He will have to repeat this perhaps fifty times in one day; but he must, in contemplating the good that will be ultimately produced, be content to take this trouble. The Natives of India cannot persuade themselves that, possessing, as we do, the means of establishing our direct rule, we shall long refrain from doing so. This impression weakens those Princes, Chiefs, and Ministers, whom it is our policy to support, in a degree that almost unfits them for being instruments of government. We can only counteract its bad effects by making ourselves understood by all, even to the lowest, upon this point; it is one on which they will never trust to a communication from any Native agent or servant, nor indeed will they be convinced of our sincerity till they observe for years that our words and actions are in unison; and they must, to satisfy them that there is no prospect of those fluctuations to which they have been so habituated, see that every thing originates with, and is known to, the superior: this knowledge, added to the right of approaching him at all moments, will gradually tranquillize their minds, and place them, as far as they can be placed, beyond the power of being made the dupes of artful or interested men.

It has been before said, that Native servants of all classes should be treated with that attention and respect to which they were from their station

and character entitled. These will, of course, have at all times the freest intercourse with the superior, but they should never have the privilege of coming to any conference between him and other Natives to which they were not specifically called. But these servants (whatever might be their inclinations) will have little power of doing harm, when a direct intercourse (such as has been described) is well established, and its principles and objects generally understood. Indeed, one of the best effects of that intercourse is the check it constitutes on all nefarious proceedings of subordinate agents, and persons of every description; as such must act in hourly dread of discovery, when every man can tell his own story to the principal at any moment he pleases.

Importance of Publicity in Intercourse.

The next important point, to be observed in official intercourse with the Natives, is "Publicity." There can be no occasion to expatiate, here, upon the utility of this principle. It is the happy privilege of a state so constituted as that of the English in India, to gain strength in the ratio that its measures, and the grounds on which they are adopted, are made public; and this is above all essential in a quarter of India where we are as yet but imperfectly understood. There are and can be no secrets in our ordinary proceedings, and every agent will find his means of doing good advanced, his toil lessened, and the power of the designing and corrupt to misrepresent his actions or intentions decreased, in the proportion that he transacts affairs in public. He should avoid, as much as he possibly can, private conferences with those in his employ or others. These will be eagerly sought for; they give the in-

dividual thus admitted the appearance of favour and influence; and there is no science in which the more artful among the Natives are greater adepts, than that of turning to account the real or supposed confidence of their superiors. I know no mode of preventing the mischief which this impression, if it becomes general, gives men the power of effecting, but habitual publicity in transacting business. This will, no doubt, be found to have inconveniencies, which will be purposely increased by those who have their game to play, and indeed others; for Natives of rank and station, even when they have no corrupt views, are from habit and self-importance attached to a secret and mysterious way of conducting both great and small affairs.

A public officer placed in your situation must always be vigilant and watchful of events likely to affect the peace of the country under his charge; but no part of his duty requires such care and wisdom in its performance. He cannot rest in blind confidence, nor refuse attention to obvious and well-authenticated facts; but he must be slow in giving his ear, or in admitting to private and confidential intercourse, secret agents and informers, lest these make an impression (which will be their object) upon his mind; for there is no failing of human nature to which the worst part of the Natives of India have learnt (from the shape of their own government) so well to address themselves, as any disposition to suspicion in their superiors. From the condition of Central India, abounding as it must with discontented and desperate characters, intrigues, treasonable conversations, and papers, and immature plots, must for some time be matters of frequent occurrence and growth; but

such will, in general, be best left to perish of neglect. Established as our power now is, men cannot collect any means capable of shaking it without being discovered; and it is, I am convinced, under all ordinary circumstances, wiser and safer to incur petty hazard, than to place individuals and communities at the mercy of artful and avaricious agents and spies, or to goad unfortunate men to a state of hostility by continually viewing them with an eye of torturing and degrading suspicion.

In the intercourse with the Natives of your circle, it is hardly necessary to advert to the subject of giving and receiving presents. The recent orders upon this subject, which have been communicated to you, are very defined and strict; but there is a necessity in this government of control for every agent to maintain on a high ground, not only the purity, but the disinterestedness of the English character, and you will avoid, as much as you possibly can, incurring any obligation to local authorities. These will sedulously endeavour to promote your convenience and comfort, and will press favours upon you both from design and good feelings; but there is a strength in preserving complete independence on all such points that must not be abandoned. Our political superiority, to be efficient, must be unmixed with any motives or concerns, either connected with our personal interest or that of others, that can soil or weaken that impression on which its successful exercise depends.

Forms of Intercourse.

The forms of the official intercourse between European agents and Natives of rank were, before we obtained paramount power, a matter of mere moment, and one on which we could less relax than at

present, because our motives were at that period more liable to be mistaken. Though it is essential in our intercourse with nations who are attached to, and give value to, ceremonies, to understand such perfectly, and to claim from all what is due to our station, that we may not sink the rank of the European superior in the estimation of those subject to his control; it is now the duty of the former to be much more attentive to the respect which he gives than what he receives, particularly in his intercourse with men of high rank. (The Princes and Chiefs of India may, in different degrees, be said to be all dependent on the British government: many have little more than the name of that power they before enjoyed; but they seem, as they lose the substance, to cling to the forms of station. The pride of reason may smile at such a feeling; but it exists, and it would be alike opposite to the principles of humanity and policy to deny it gratification.)

In official intercourse with the lower classes, the latter should be treated according to the usages of the country, as practised by the most indulgent of their Native superiors. It will be found that they require personal notice and consideration in proportion as their state is removed from that knowledge which belongs to civilization; and it is on this ground that the Bheel must have more attention paid him than the Ryot. It is more difficult to give confidence to his mind, and to make him believe in the sincerity and permanence of the kindness with which he is treated, because he is in a condition more remote from the party with whom he communicates, and, before he can be reclaimed, he must be approximated.

The interference of agents employed in this country with Native Princes or Courts, or their local officers, cannot be exactly defined, for there will be shades of distinction in every case, that will require attention; but all must be subject, and that in the strictest degree, to certain general and well-understood principles, founded on the nature of our power, our objects, our political relations with the different states, the personal conduct of their rulers, their necessity for our aid and support, and their disposition to require or reject it in the conduct of their internal administration. The leading principle, and the one which must be continually referred to, is grounded on the character of our controlling power and its objects. It is the avowed, and I am satisfied it is the true, policy of the British State, while it maintains the general peace of the country, to keep, not only in the enjoyment of their high rank, but in the active exercise of their sovereign functions, the different princes and chiefs who are virtually or declaredly dependent on its protection. The principal object (setting aside the obligations of faith) is to keep at a distance that crisis to which in spite of our efforts we are gradually approaching—of having the whole of India subject to our direct rule. There is no intention of discussing here the consequences likely to result from such an event. It is sufficient for executive and subordinate officers to know, that it is the desire of the government they serve to keep it at a distance, to render it their duty to contribute their whole efforts to promote the accomplishment of that object; and on the manner and substance of their interference the local success of this policy will greatly depend. Interference.

On all points where we are pledged by treaty to support states, or to mediate or interfere between them and others, we must of course act agreeably to the obligations contracted ; and in such case no instructions can be required. It may not, however, be unuseful to remark, that, on all occasions where they are referred to, treaties and engagements should be interpreted with much consideration to the prince or chief with whom they are made. There is often, from opposite education and habits, much difference between their construction and ours of such engagements ; but no loose observation, or even casual departure from the letter of them, ought to lead to serious consequences, when it appeared there was no intention of violating the spirit of the deed, or of acting contrary to pledged faith. When any article of an engagement is doubtful, I think it should be invariably explained with more leaning to the expectations originally raised in the weaker than to the interests of the stronger power. It belongs to superior authority to give ultimate judgment upon all points of this nature which come under discussion, but that judgment must always be much influenced by the colour of the information and opinion of the local agent. My desire is to convey how important every subject is that connects in the remotest degree with that reputation for good faith, which can only be considered our strength, while it exists unimpaired in the minds of the Natives : and in this view the most scrupulous attention should be paid to their understanding of every article of the agreements we make with them, for no local advantage, nor the promotion of any pecuniary interest, can compensate for the slightest injury to this corner-stone of our power in India.

With the government of Dowlet Row Sindia (a great part of whose possessions are intermixed with those of our dependent allies in this quarter) we have only general relations of amity; and however virtually dependent events may have rendered that prince, we can (except insisting upon the exact performance of those settlements which we have mediated between him or his delegated officers and some of his tributaries) claim no right of interference in any part of his internal administration; nor should there, unless in cases of unexpected emergency which threatened the general peace of the country, be any disposition shewn to interference, except on specific requisition from the resident at Gualior. Without interfering, however, we have hitherto, and shall continue to exercise a very salutary control both over Dowlet Row Sindia and his local officers by the terms on which we communicate and act with the latter. When these are men of good character, and study the happiness of the inhabitants, and the improvement of the country, we can, by the cordiality and consideration with which we treat them, and the ready attention we give to the settlement of every petty dispute they have with the subjects of our allies, as well as other friendly acts, grant them a countenance and aid which greatly facilitate their success in their local administration. The same principle leads to abstinence from all communication, and to our keeping aloof (except where the general peace is at hazard) from all intercourse with those of Sindia's managers who are noted for misrule or bad faith. This line of conduct towards the latter, grounded as it publicly should be on the avowed principle of keeping our character free of

Interference with Sindia's Government.

soil from their proceedings, locally increases our reputation; while it has the effect of rendering the employment of such men inconvenient and unprofitable to the state, and thus constitutes one of the chief means we have of working a reform in its internal administration: nor is it a slight one, for the impression of our power is so great, that the belief of a local officer possessing our good opinion and friendship is of itself sufficient to repress opposition to his authority, while his forfeiting our favour is sure to raise him enemies, both in his district and at Gualior.

With the courts of Holkar, Dhar, Dewass, and almost all the petty Rajpoot states West of the Chumbul, our relations are different. These have been raised from a weak and fallen condition to one of efficiency, through our efforts. But, though compelled at first to aid them in almost every settlement, we have, as they attained the power of acting for themselves, gradually withdrawn from minute interference on points connected with their internal administration, limiting ourselves to what is necessary for the maintenance of the public tranquillity.

There is so strong a feeling in the minds of princes and chiefs above alluded to, and in those of all their officers, (from their prime minister down to the lowest agent,) of their actual dependence upon the British government, that it is almost impossible to make them understand that they are, in the conduct of their internal administration, desired and expected to act independently of it. Their difficulty of comprehending and trusting the policy which dictates our conduct in this particular, arises out of its being opposite to all their habits and knowledge. Time alone, and the most minute care of every European

agent employed, can impart to them that confidence which is essential to their becoming competent functionaries of rule. To effect this object, the principles hitherto inculcated and acted upon must be steadily pursued, and we must decline all interference, except in cases where Grassiahs, Bheels, or other plunderers are concerned. These, from their situation or strength, can only be kept in order by the power of the British government; and we must in such cases even have the limits of our interference exactly defined, that no belief may exist of our possessing the power of departing from the restrictions we have imposed upon ourselves; for on such impressions being general, and being confirmed by scrupulous consistency of action, depends our success in giving that efficiency to the various Native authorities subject to our control which is necessary to enable them to perform the different duties allotted to them.

In cases of interference with lesser rulers, such as the reformed Rajpoot plunderers and Bheel chiefs, we may be compelled to enter more minutely into their affairs; but the principles observed should be the same; and while we take care to repress every disposition to a return to predatory habits, and see that men who have long cherished such possess themselves of honest means of livelihood, we must respect their prejudices, and not hastily break in upon the rude frame of their internal rule; but leave (down to the Turwee or head of the Bheel Parah or cluster of hamlets) the full exercise of his authority over those under him, according as that is grounded on the ancient prejudices and usages of the tribe to which he and his family or followers belong.

The feelings of irritation and hatred with which

almost all the Princes and Chiefs of this quarter regard the Grassiahs and Bheels, and the total want of confidence of the latter in their nominal superiors, have and will continue to render calls for our interference very frequent; but however high the character and condition of the one party, and however bad and low that of the other may be, we must never grant our name or support to measures of coercion or violence, without fully understanding the merits of the case, nor without having had direct communication with the party or parties inculpated; otherwise we may be involved in embarrassment, and become unconsciously the instruments of injustice and oppression.

Many questions will occur deeply connected with our reputation for good faith which cannot be decided by any exact rules; but, whenever that is concerned, the tone of our feeling should be very high. It is the point upon which the moral part of our government of this great empire hinges; and in these countries where our rule and control are new, and in which the inhabitants cannot yet understand any explanations that do not rest upon broad and obvious grounds, the subject requires much attention. There are many cases in which our faith, though not specifically, is virtually pledged to individuals: Ministers, for instance, of minor or incompetent Princes or Chiefs, who have been brought forward or recognised by us in the exercise of authority, have a claim upon our support and consideration, which nothing but bad conduct on their part can forfeit. We should, no doubt, be most careful in any interference that leads to such obligations. They are only to be incurred when a necessity that involves the peace and prosperity of the country calls for them; but they must be sacredly ob-

served; for, with a people who look in all questions of government more to persons than systems, the abandonment, except from gross misconduct, of any individual who had been raised or openly protected by us, would excite stronger feelings than the breach of an article of a treaty, and locally prove more injurious, as it weakens that reliance upon our faith which is the very foundation of our strength.

We may rest satisfied, while we pursue the course I have stated, (and it is the one to which our faith is almost in every case, either directly or by implication, pledged) that we have from our paramount power a very efficient check over states and tribes, whose rulers, officers, and chiefs, will soon discover that they can only gain our favour and support by good conduct, or forfeit it by bad. With such knowledge, and with means comparatively limited, we cannot expect they will be disposed to incur displeasure, when the terms on which they can gain approbation are so easy; at least no men possessed of common sense and discernment (qualities in which the Natives of India are seldom deficient) can be expected to act in such a manner;—but we must not conceal from ourselves, that their conduct in this, as in all other particulars, will rest chiefly on the value of that condition in which they are placed or rather left; and in proportion as we render it one of comfort and dignity, so will their care be to preserve our good opinion and to merit our confidence. It is, indeed, upon our success in supporting their respectability, that the permanence of a system of control over great and small Native states, such as we have established in this quarter of India, will depend. We have no choice of means in the performance of this delicate and arduous part of our

duty. Though the check must be efficient, it should be almost unseen: the effect ought to be produced more by the impression than the exercise of superior power. Our principal object must be to elevate the authorities to whom we have left the administration of their respective territories: we must, in all cases of interference, bring them forward to their own subjects as the prominent objects of respect and obedience; so far from the agent attracting any to himself, he should purposely repel it, that it may be given to the quarter where it is wanted, and to which it belongs. When we aid any Prince or Chief against his own subjects, his name should be exclusively used; and we should be most careful in making our Native agents and servants pay the full measure of respect to every branch of his administration, and continually be on the watch to check that disposition which is inherent in them, to slight local authorities, that they may in the name of their master draw that attention to themselves, which it is quite essential should belong to the officers of the Native government. It is evident that our control can only be supportable, to any human being who has the name and appearance of power, so long as it is exercised in a general manner and regulated by the principles above stated. When it descends to minute checks and interference in the collection of revenue, the administration of justice listens to the complaints of discontented, or even aggrieved individuals, and allows upon system its own Native agents to interfere and act in the name of the paramount state,—the continuance of independent power, in any shape, to either Prince or Chief, is not only impolitic but dangerous, as his condition must be felt by himself, and by all attached to his person or family, as a mockery and

degradation; and the least effect of such feelings will be the extermination of all motive to good or great actions. For when control is divested of its large and liberal character, and takes a more minute shape, whatever merit belongs to the administration becomes the due of the person by whom it is exercised, or his agents, and the nominal Prince and his officers are degraded into suspected and incompetent instruments of rule.

In this general outline of our interference with the rulers, great and small, of this part of India, I have dwelt much upon the political considerations upon which it is grounded; because I am convinced that there is no part of the subject that requires to be so deeply studied, and so fully understood, as this should be by every subordinate agent; for there is no point of his duty which is at once so delicate and arduous, or in which success or failure so much depends upon individual exertion. He will be prompted to deviate from the course prescribed, by the action of his best feelings, and by hopes of increasing his personal reputation; but he will be kept steady in that course by a knowledge of the importance of those general principles on which the present system rests. It is in the performance of this part of his duty that all which has been said regarding manner and intercourse must be in his memory; for men in the situation in which those are, with whom he must, in all cases of interference, come in contact, are not to be conciliated to their condition, nor kept in that temper towards the paramount authority which is necessary for its interest they should be, by mere correctness or strict attention to justice. The Native state must be courted and encouraged to good conduct, and the earnest endeavour

of the British agent must be to give their rulers a pride in their administration, to effect which object he must win to his side not only the rulers themselves, but the principal and most respectable men of the country. In his efforts to gain the latter, however, he must beware of depriving the local authority of that public opinion which is so essential both as a check to misrule and a reward to good government; but which would cease to be felt as either, the moment the ties between Prince and subject were seriously injured or broken.

Where the public peace, of which we are avowed protectors, has been violated, or where murders or robberies have been committed, we have a right to urge the local authorities (whom we aid both with means for the prevention and punishment of such crimes) to pursue, according to their own usages, the course best calculated to preserve the safety of persons and of property. In other cases connected with the administration of justice, though there is no right of interference, it will be for their interest, and for our reputation, to lose no opportunity of impressing generally the benefit and good name that will result from attention to ancient institutions, particularly to that of the popular courts of Punjayet, which have never been discontinued but in periods marked by anarchy and oppression.

The practice of Suttee is not frequent in Malwa, and that of infanticide is, I believe, less so. The first is a usage, which, however shocking to humanity, has defenders among every class of the Hindu community. The latter is held in abhorrence by all but the Rajpoot families, by whom it is practised, and to whom it is confined; for many of the most respectable chiefs of that tribe speak of this crime with all

the horror it merits. You cannot interfere in the prevention of either of these sacrifices, beyond the exercise of that influence which you possess from personal character; indeed to attempt more would be at the hazard of making wrong impressions, and of defeating the end you desired to attain. Praise of those who abstain from such acts, and neglect of those who approve or perpetrate them, is the best remedy that can be applied. It is the course I have pursued, and has certainly been attended with success.

That the line of interference which has been described is difficult, will not be denied; but what course can we discover for the future rule and control of the different Native states in India, which does not present a choice of difficulties? Men are too apt, at the first view of this great subject, to be deluded by a desire to render easy, and to simplify, what is of necessity difficult and complicated. Moral considerations come in aid of the warmest and best sentiments of the human mind to entice us to innovation: we feel ourselves almost the sharers of that crime and misrule which we think our interference could mitigate or amend; and in the fervour of our virtue we are too apt to forget, that temporary or partial benefit often entails lasting and general evil,—that every plan, however theoretically good, must be practically bad, that is imperfectly executed. We forget, in the pride of our superior knowledge, the condition of others; and self-gratification makes almost every man desire to crowd into the few years of his official career, the work of half a century. Thus measures have been, and continue to be brought forward, in advance of the community for whose benefit they are intended. Of what has passed it is not necessary to speak; the future is

in our power, and I cannot conclude this part of the subject, which relates to an interference that is calculated, according as it is managed, to hasten or retard the introduction of our direct rule, without impressing upon every officer employed under my orders the importance of a conduct calculated to preserve, while it improves, the established governments and native authorities of the country. To these it is his duty to give such impulse as he can without injuring their frame, towards an amendment suited to their situation, to the character of the rulers, and to that of the various classes under their rule. I consider, and the opinion is the result of both experience and reflection, that all dangers to our power in India are slight in comparison with that which is likely to ensue from our too zealous efforts to change the condition of its inhabitants, with whom we are yet, in my opinion, but very imperfectly acquainted. A person who entertains such sentiments as I do upon this question, must appear the advocate of very slow reform; but, if I am so, it is from a full conviction that any thing like precipitation in our endeavours at improvement is likely to terminate in casting back those we desire to advance;—on the contrary, if, instead of over-marching, we are content to go along with this immense population, and to be in good temper with their prejudices, their religion, and usages, we may gradually win them to better ways of thinking and of acting. The latter process, no doubt, must be one of great time; but its success will be retarded by every hasty step.

Employment of Servants.

There are few points on which more care is required than the selection and employment of Native servants for the public service. The higher classes of

these, such as Moonshees, Mootsuddies, and Writers, should be men of regular habits of life, intelligent, and of good characters in their own tribes. There is no objection to an officer continuing to keep in service a person he has brought from a distant province, who has been long with him, and on whose fidelity and competence he can repose; but, generally speaking, it is much better to entertain respectable Natives or old residents of the country in which he is employed; such may have looser habits and be less attached, but the former his vigilance will check and correct, and attachment will soon be created by kindness and consideration. Their advantages over foreigners are very numerous. The principal are, their acquaintance with the petty interests of the country, and their knowledge of all the prejudices and the jealousies of the different classes of the community to which they belong. On all these points the superior should be minutely informed, and, if he employs men not personally acquainted with the disposition and condition of those under his charge or control, his information on such subjects must come through multiplied mediums, which is in itself a serious evil. But, independent of this, the employment of the Natives of a distant province is always unpopular, and they are generally viewed with dislike and suspicion by the higher and more respectable classes of the country into which they are introduced. This excites a feeling in the minds of the former, which either makes them keep aloof from all connexion with the inhabitants, or seek the society, and use as instruments, men who are discontented or of indifferent character. It is difficult to say which of these causes has the worst effect. The one gives an impression

of pride, if not contempt, and the other of design and an inclination to intrigue; and both operate unfavourably to the local reputation of the master.

I have observed, that the Natives who are least informed of the principles of our rule, are ready to grant a respect and confidence to an English officer, which they refuse to persons of their own tribe; but they are apt to form an unfavourable opinion of his disposition and character from any bad conduct of his Native servants, if foreigners; on the contrary, when the latter are members of their own community, the exposure of their errors or crimes, while it brings shame and conveys a salutary lesson to the class to which they belong, is attended with the effect of raising, instead of depressing, the European superior in their estimation. To all these general reasons might be added many, grounded on the particular condition of Central India. The oppression the inhabitants of this quarter have recently suffered, both from Hindu and Mahomedan natives of the Deckan and Hindustan, makes them naturally alarmed at these classes. There is, also, in the impoverished state of many of the best families of the country, a strong additional reason for our giving them, in preference to strangers, what little we can of salary as public servants.

In the above observations there is no desire to exclude any member of Deckan or Hindustan families, who have settled for life, or for several generations, in Malwa; such objection would proscribe from our employ some of the most intelligent and respectable inhabitants of that province.

It has been before mentioned, that publicity in our transaction of business is most essential, chiefly as it puts to repose an alarmed and agitated popula-

tion, and, beyond all, their Princes and Chiefs. We may greatly promote this object by the selection of servants. I early observed a very serious uneasiness, if not alarm, in Holkar's ministers, regarding the course I meant to pursue towards that court; and as one means of removing it, I chose as a principal Native writer an intelligent Brahmin, whose family was attached to that of Holkar, in whose employ I found him, and who could, I knew, from his connexions, have no permanent interests separate from his duty to that State. I was conscious of having nothing to conceal, but I knew the importance of Tantia Jogh and others being satisfied that this was the case. No measure I have adopted has tended more to tranquillize their minds; and I state the fact because its application may be suited to cases of daily occurrence.

In the employment of the higher classes of Native servants, they should, as much as possible, be restricted to their specific duties, and no one should be allowed to take a lead, or mix (unless when directed) in the occupation of another. The keeping of these persons in their exact places will be found difficult, from the habits of the Natives being opposite to such rules; but it is essential; for errors, if not guilt, will be the certain consequence of a confusion of duties, which destroys that pride which good men feel from possessing confidence, and enables bad to evade that personal responsibility which constitutes the chief check upon their conduct.

The employment of the lower classes of public servants requires much attention. These should be selected on the same principles that have already been stated, with reference to the duties they are to perform, which ought always to be exactly defined;

and their conduct vigilantly watched. It will indeed be found useful to render as public as possible the nature of their employment, and to call upon all local authorities to aid us in the prevention of those unauthorized and odious acts of injustice and oppression towards the inhabitants of the country which this class will, in spite of all our efforts, find opportunities of committing. I speak from the fullest experience when I state, that, though the Natives of India may do full justice to the purity of our intentions and the excellence of the principles of our rule, they are undisguised in their sentiments regarding those parts of our administration in which the very dregs of their own community are employed. They cannot, indeed, but see with feelings of detestation and resentment a man raised from the lowest of their own ranks, and decorated with the official badge or stick of a civil or political English officer, become the very next moment insolent to persons to whom he and his family have been for ages submissive, or turn the extortioner of money from those tribes among which he has before lived as an humble individual.

The power of this class of servants to injure our reputation is every where great, but more so in the proportion that the Natives of the country are ignorant of our real character, and where their dread of our power is excessive. Of the mischief they have done, or rather tried to do, in Malwa, I can speak from a perfect knowledge. I have endeavoured with unremitting solicitude to counteract their impositions and oppressions, by publishing proclamations and giving high rewards to all who informed against or seized any of my servants when attempting the slightest interference in the country, or affecting to have any

business beyond that of carrying a letter, or some specified or limited duty; but I have, nevertheless, been compelled within three years to punish publicly, and discharge, one Moonshee, two Mootsuddies or writers, three Jemadars, and upwards of fifty Hircarrahs; and almost an equal number of the same class belonging to other public officers have been taken and punished, or banished the country. These examples will shew the danger of being tempted, by any convenience of service, or a desire to accelerate the accomplishment of our objects, to employ such instruments with any latitude of action.

The importance of encouraging the dependent States of India to do their own work, and to lean, on points of internal administration, as little as possible upon us, has been before noticed; and as long as we manage to keep clear of that species of interference which weakens and unsettles, without any proportionate good to balance its evil effects, we shall have credit in general opinion for all the good measures which the State under our protection adopts, and our reputation will be benefited (from the comparisons that are drawn) even by its acts of folly and injustice. But the latter advantage will be lost by any half and impolitic mixture in its concerns, and there is no mode in which this will be found so injurious as that of granting it the aid of Native servants in our employ. Allowing the higher classes of these to enter into the affairs of such governments in any shape, would be destructive of every principle that has been inculcated; but the giving their rulers, ministers, or local officers, the aid of our lower servants, would be still more to the injury of our reputation; for among the higher classes we might find men of virtue and firmness of character beyond what

could be expected from the others when exposed, as they would be, to much temptation. They would be used for purposes of coercion, if not oppression, and there would be sufficient art in those who thus employed them to throw, when that was their object, the odium of what these instruments did upon the English government. But, in general, their desire would be limited to have the aid of the British name to alarm into compliance with their demands, individuals or communities. They would be aware that the Hircarrah or servant sent to assist their authority was a check upon their proceedings, and this would lead to his being bribed; and, if he did not become an instrument of violence, it would only be because he received higher wages from the party he was sent to oppress. I have seen such manifold instances of the bad effects resulting from the employment of this class in the manner described, that I have for more than three years peremptorily refused any such aid to Native chiefs, and must require all those under my orders to do the same. The best answer to all applications upon this subject is, that compliance is at variance with the system ordered to be pursued, and that the usage of granting such aid, though it might be found convenient, and in some cases accelerate the accomplishment of good measures, must in the end produce much evil, and be attended with loss of reputation to the British Government, whose good name could not be intrusted to low agents and menials acting beyond the strict and vigilant observation of the European officer.

Maintenance of the public peace.

The right we have to act, when the public peace is threatened or disturbed, has been generally noticed under the head of Interference; but it will be useful to say a few words on the mode of exercising

that right, particularly as it relates to points which are connected with the internal administration of police and criminal justice.

In countries which have been long in the condition of Central India, there is a connexion, formed between the most powerful and the most apparently insignificant of the disturbers of the public peace, which will for some time require a vigilant attention to every act of the latter to prevent the revival of a disorderly or predatory spirit. In common cases we shall only have to prompt the local authority to exertions. But when our aid is required, and troops or any persons acting under our orders apprehend delinquents, they should invariably be given over to the ruler or chief in whose countries the crimes were committed, by whom they will be examined and punished according to the established custom. I have usually limited my interference in this part of the administration of the Native States of Malwa to two points. The first is, that in cases of robbery, but particularly cattle (the common booty of Bheels and other plunderers), there should be restitution to the owners the moment the property was proved, leaving those persons through whose hands it has passed by real or pretended sales, to have their disputes and recriminations settled, and to recover from each other, according to usage. This practice is now general, and its enforcement for the last two years has done more to put an end to Bheel and other robberies, than all the other measures that have been taken. The second point on which I have endeavoured to make a change in practice of the administration of Justice in the Native States of Malwa, is that of preventing the crime of wilful murder being commuted for the payment of

a pecuniary fine; but in all cases of this nature where circumstances compel us to interfere, it is desirable that no execution should take place till guilt has been clearly proved. The observance of this rule is more necessary, as in cases where the criminals are of a plundering tribe, such as Bheels and Baugries, the Native ruler or chief will be disposed to deem the mere accusation enough to warrant the punishment; whereas it is exactly with such classes that it is of importance to us to be most particular, lest we lose the impression we desire to make upon them, by becoming in any way accessaries to acts of violence or injury.

On all occasions when the local power is sufficient, it is most desirable to bring it into action, that it may cease to be dependent upon us for the maintenance of the internal peace. This is particularly advisable where excesses are committed, that have either as their real or professed causes, superstitious or religious feelings. In such cases, except where the mixture of political motives is manifest and avowed, or the danger imminent, we should call upon the Native government, by its duty and allegiance to the paramount state, to put down all disturbers of the peace, particularly when fanatics, like those lately at Pertaubghur*, combine with their atrocities the avowal of sentiments hostile to our rule. The actual condition of Central India makes it likely that such efforts as that above alluded to may be repeated, and they will always (however contemptible they may seem) require to be treated with much delicacy. It should be deemed a guiding principle not to act if we can avoid it; and when absolutely compelled to do so, it is

* Vide Letter to Captain Macdonald, dated 18th June, 1821.

essential that we should appear not as principals, but in support of the local government; for the spirit that engenders such excesses, whether they proceed from intrigue or fanaticism, will only attain strength by opposition; and any violent measures on our part, however justified by crime or outrage, might make the most unfavourable impressions upon an ignorant and bigoted population, who, while they confess all the benefits of our general rule and control, are easily excited to a dread of our success ultimately leading to attempts at changing the religion and institutions of their forefathers.

In cases of rebels or plunderers collecting in such force as to require British troops to suppress them, you will (if the emergency prevents reference to superior authority) make a requisition for aid from the nearest commanding officer that can furnish it.

The rules for such requisitions have been generally notified: the political agent will give the fullest information of the service to be performed, the nature of the country, the character of the enemy and his resources, leaving the military officer, when possessed of such knowledge, the selection of the force, both as to number and equipment, that is to be placed at his disposal. But it is to be strongly impressed upon both, that in a country like Central India, the means employed should always be above the object to be accomplished, as failure or defeat in any enterprise or action would be attended with very bad consequences.

It is almost superfluous to repeat what has been sedulously inculcated upon you as a primary duty during the last three years, the adoption of every preventive measure to avert the necessity of the em-

ployment of force. Its appearance has hitherto been almost in all cases sufficient to produce the required effect; and in the few instances where it has been employed, the moment of success has been seized for that of conciliation. To act differently, and to pursue those wild tribes who are the common disturbers of the peace, with retaliation of outrages, beyond what is necessary to evince our power, is to confirm them in their habits, and to add to their other motives of hostility those of resentment and despair. When engaged in warfare with such classes, we should be cautious how we inflict summary punishment on the individuals who fall into our power. These are often the mere instruments of crime, and act in its commission under as strong an impulse of duty to their superiors, as the soldier in our ranks; and it is as unreasonable to expect their habits can be changed by making examples of such men, as it would that we could subdue the spirit of a nation by putting to death every soldier belonging to it that we found fighting against us in action. The increased danger in which this placed individuals, would only strengthen that powerful feeling by which they were attached to their leaders, while it added that of revenge against those who treated them with what they deemed cruelty and injustice. It is the duty of all agents of the British government to direct their efforts to effect a change in the frame of these savage communities, instead of commencing, in imitation of unprincipled and despotic Native rulers, an unprofitable and interminable warfare upon individuals, who can hardly be termed guilty when they act by the express order of chiefs to whom and their predecessors they and their fathers have given implicit obedience for centuries. The nature

and strength of the ties which subsist in these societies were fully discovered in the trial of Nadir Singh*, the celebrated Bheelalah chief of the Vindhya range. No one has questioned the justice of his punishment; but that of the persons who committed by his order the barbarous crime for which he was exiled, would have been deemed an act of oppression.

One of the most effectual means that you have to maintain the peace, is that of exerting yourself to render all (even the poorest and wildest classes) sensible of the benefits they derive from your protection. There is no point in which this is more required than against the excesses of our troops, camp-followers, merchants who have passes, and, in short, all who on any ground use the British name. The governments of the different Presidencies have been long sensible of this evil, and have endeavoured by the strictest orders and proclamations to correct it. The pressing of begaries and hackeries has been positively forbidden; but these orders must be enforced with a rigorous and uncompromising spirit by the civil and political authorities, otherwise they will prove unavailing. This is a point of duty in which I consider those under my orders to have no option or latitude; in the present condition of Central India it is one of too much importance, both as it relates to the temper of the inhabitants, and the reviving prosperity of the country, to warrant any deviation, either for the accommodation of individuals or the public service. The former, when no longer encouraged by improper or unwise indulgence to trust in any way to the country, will soon learn to be independent of its aid; public

* Vide Letter to Government, dated 9th May, 1820.

departments will in like degree become, from providing for their own wants, more efficient; and when the inhabitants are satisfied that it is not in the power of any person, whatever be his rank, to press them or their cattle, they will be inspired with a confidence that will lead to their furnishing more resources to troops and travellers, from a desire of profit, than has ever yet been extorted by an oppressive system; which, according to all Natives I have heard speak upon the subject, has been carried to as great, if not greater lengths in countries subject to our rule and control, than in the worst of their own governments.

There are, I fear, many omissions in these notes of instructions, but an anxiety to render them complete has already made them far longer than was at first intended. One of my chief objects has been to impress in the most forcible manner the great benefits which are to be expected from a kind and conciliating manner, and a constant friendly intercourse with those under your direction and control. It is the feelings and knowledge which such habits on your part will inspire, that can alone give effect to the principles of action that have been prescribed for your observance. You are called upon to perform no easy task: to possess power, but seldom to exercise it; to witness abuses which you think you could correct; to see the errors, if not crimes, of superstitious bigotry, and the miseries of misrule, and yet forbear, lest you injure interests far greater than any within the sphere of your limited duties, and impede and embarrass, by a rash change and innovation that may bring local benefit, the slow but certain march of general improvement. Nothing can keep you right on all these points but constant

efforts to add to your knowledge, and accustoming your mind (as I have before urged you) to dwell upon the character of the British power in India, and that of the empire over which it is established. The latter, comprehending numerous tribes and nations, with all their various institutions and governments, may truly, though metaphorically, be viewed as a vast and ancient fabric, neither without shape nor beauty, but of which many parts are in a dilapidated state, and all more or less soiled or decayed; still it is a whole, and connected in all its parts, the foundations are deep-laid, and to the very summit arch rests upon arch. We are now its possessors, and if we desire to preserve, while we improve it, we must make ourselves completely masters of the frame of the structure to its minutest ornaments and defects: nor must we remove the smallest stone till another is ready, suited to fill the vacant niche, otherwise we may inadvertently bring a ruin on our own heads, and those of others, on the spot where we too eagerly sought to erect a monument of glory.

(Signed) JOHN MALCOLM.

Camp Dhooliah,
28th June, 1821.

No. XIX.

Geographical Index.

AGGUR.—A large town in Malwa, belonging to Sindia, forty miles N. by E. from Oojein. Lat. 23. 43. N.; Long. 76. 1. E. This place stands in an open plain, 1598 feet above the level of the sea, with several tanks in the vicinity. It is surrounded by a stone wall, and has a well-built Ghurry or native fortification within, being the head of a Pergunnah. In 1820 it contained 5000 houses, and the armed force consisted of 1200 sword and spear men, 200 horse, and 250 matchlocks.

AGRA *(or Akberabad.)*—An ancient city of Upper Hindustan, the principal town of a province of the same name. Lat. 27. 11. N.; Long. 77. 53. E. It was greatly enlarged and embellished by the Emperor Akber, who made it his capital; and it had also the honour of being the birth-place of Abul Fazel, his prime minister. It still continues strongly fortified, and the famous Tanje Mahal erected by Shah Jehan is yet to be seen; but the inhabited part of the town is comprehended within a very small compass, and in 1813 the total population was only estimated at 60,000. It belongs to the British government, and is the head-quarters of a civil and military establishment.

AHMEDABAD.—The Mahomedan capital of the ancient kingdom and modern province of Guzerat. Lat. 23. 1. N.; Long. 72. 42. E. It was built about A. D. 1426, by Sultan Ahmed Shah, on the site of a still more ancient town, and in the reign of Akber possessed a mint, but is

now much decayed; the vast circumference, however, which its remains still occupy, indicate its former prosperity and enormous magnitude. The British government is now predominant at Ahmedabad; but the Guickwar shares in the revenue collections and other fiscal resources. In 1812 it suffered severely from a pestilence, which destroyed a considerable portion of its population, then estimated, but probably too highly, at 200,000 persons.

AJMEER *(or Rajpootana.)*—A large province of Hindustan, situated between the 24th and 31st degrees of N. Lat. It is also occasionally named Marwar; but this appellation ought properly to be restricted to the Joudpoor territories. In length it may be estimated at 350 miles by 200 the average breadth, and within these limits the territories of the five principal Rajpoot chiefs, the Rajas of Odeypoor, Jeypoor, Joudpoor, Bicanere, and Jesselmere, are comprehended. The only portion possessed by the British is the City of Ajmeer, Lat. 26. 31. N., Long. 74. 28. E., where a strong detachment is usually stationed, and forty-six of the surrounding Pergunnahs, which were ceded by Dowlet Row Sindia in 1818.

ALLOTE.—A town in the province of Malwa, which in 1820 contained 400 houses. Lat. 23. 45. N.; Long. 75. 38. E.; forty-five miles N. by W. from Oojein. It was then the head of a Pergunnah of the same name, containing 2316 houses, of which 47 were inhabited by Mahomedans, and the remainder by Hindus; but, owing to the devastation it had sustained, very little revenue accrued to the Raja of Dewass, its proprietor.

ALLY.—A town in the province of Malwa, district of Rath, and the head of a Pergunnah of the same name, belonging to Raja Ally Mohun Singh. Lat. 22. 13. N.; Long. 74. 25. E.; twelve miles North from the Nerbudda. In 1820 the domains of Ally comprehended six Pergunnahs, containing 176 towns and villages; but, owing to their desolate condition, the annual revenue amounted to only 9483

rupees. At that period they were placed under the management of Muzzuffer, a Mekranny, and a speedy restoration of its prosperity was expected under his active management.

AMBER.—The ancient capital of the Jeypoor territories in the province of Ajmeer, until Mirza Raja Jye Singh, in the reign of Aurungzebe, built a new city named Jeypoor, since which period the principality has taken that name also. Lat. 26. 57. N.; Long. 75. 40. E.; five miles N. by E. from Jeypoor.

'AMJHERRA.—A small town in Malwa, belonging to Sindia, and the head of a district containing 175 villages. Lat. 22. 33.; Long. 75. 13. E.; fifty-six miles S.W. from Oojein, and twelve W. of Dhar, and 1890 feet above the level of the sea. It is situated in an extensive valley, which expands towards the North, but is confined on the other sides by low hills. To the Eastward there is a fine tank, with good encamping-ground, but the nullah which runs near the town, becomes dry during the hot season. In 1820, this town contained 500 houses, with good bazaars, plentifully supplied.

The Amjherra chief is of a high Rhattore family, but tributary to Sindia, to whom he pays 35,000 rupees annually: his country, however, if properly cultivated and governed, is capable of producing nearly three times that amount.

ASSEERGHUR.—A town and fortress of great strength in the province of Candeish, the capital of a district which belongs to Dowlet Row Sindia, but the fort and a few of the surrounding villages are in the possession of the British government. Lat. 21. 28. N.; Long. 76. 23. E.; twelve miles N.N.E. from Boorhanpoor. By Abul Fazel, Asseer is called the capital of Candeish; but several Native authorities place it half in the Hindu division of Nemaur, as it stands on the Satpoorah range of mountains which separates the provinces. Its name is said to originate from

the founder Assa, a rich and celebrated Hindu Zemindar of the Aheer tribe.

AURUNGABAD.—A large town in the Deckan, the capital of a province of the same name. Lat. 19. 54. N.; Long. 75. 33. E. It was a village originally named Gurka, but, having become the favourite residence of Aurungzebe, during his viceroyalty in the Deckan, it received the name of Aurungabad, which it eventually communicated to the province. At present it is within the Nizam's territories, and like many other cities of India greatly declined from its ancient grandeur.

BABRA.—A small town in the petty province of Rath, the residence of a Rajpoot Chief. See Vol. I. p. 17.

BAGLEE.—A town in the province of Malwa, which in 1820 contained 500 houses. Lat. 22. 39. N.; Long. 76. 28. E.; fifty-four miles South-east from Oojein. This place is situated near the Kali Sind river, and has a small but well-built Ghurry, or native fortification. It belongs to Raja Salim Singh, who is tributary to Dowlet Row Sindia.

BAGUR.—This is a minor province in the old division of Hindustan, which still retains its name and dimensions, but in modern geography is attached to the provinces of Guzerat and Malwa. It comprehends the hilly tract of country which for the most part separates these Soubahs, and is bounded on the North by Mewar, on the South by a narrow strip of Malwa, which extends from Petlawud to Dohud, and divides Bagur from Rath. It consists almost entirely of ranges of hills running in a Northerly and Southerly direction, mostly covered with thick low jungle of teak, blackwood, &c., especially near the Western and Southern boundaries. There is on every side a descent from Malwa to Bagur, and thence, but more imperceptible, into Guzerat, and its limits are distinctly marked by ridges of woody hills of moderate elevation. The climate for a considerable portion of the year is reckoned

unhealthy; and, owing to a deficiency of water, is comparatively unproductive. The mountain streams soon run themselves dry; the digging of wells and tanks is attended with great labour and expense; reservoirs, however, are sometimes formed by throwing an embankment across the stream of a narrow valley.

Excepting the towns of Doongurpoor, Banswarra, and Saugwarra, this province contains no inhabited places of any consequence; but the remains of antiquities scattered over the surface, tend to prove at some former period a more prosperous state of existence. At present the great mass of the population consists of Bheels and Meenahs under various petty Thakoors or chiefs, generally pretending to the dignity of Rajpoots. See also Vol. I. p. 17.

BAMPOORA.—A considerable town situated on the Rewa river, Lat. 24. 31.; Long. 75. 50. N.; 1344 feet above the level of the sea. The fort of Bampoora has never been finished, but the walls are well built, and there is a fine palace inside, also unfinished, begun by Jeswunt Row Holkar, of whom it contains a statue sculptured in marble. In 1820, the number of houses was estimated at 4000, mostly in tolerable repair; and the city, with the territories attached, formed part of the dominions of Mulhar Row Holkar

BANSWARRA.—A considerable city, the capital of a small principality in the district of Bagur. Lat. 23. 31. N.; Long. 74. 32. E. The territories attached are divided into seven districts, yielding an annual revenue of about 207,860 rupees, of which amount 101,625 go to the treasury, 96,546 to the Rajpoot chieftains, and 9694 to religious mendicants.

The present Rawul, or Prince of Banswarra, is named Bhowanny Singh, and under him are thirty-two dependent Rajpoot chiefs, who keep in readiness for the service of the state a stipulated number of fighting men, which in 1820 amounted to 179 horse and 668 foot, besides

200 of the Rawul's own troops. His authority is paramount throughout the whole principality, he alone having the power to inflict capital punishment; but he is tributary to the English government. In the immediate vicinity of Banswarra, there are tanks from which the lands are irrigated; in the wilder districts the Bheels compose the bulk of the inhabitants. See also Vol. I. page 506.

BARREAH.—The capital of a small independent principality in the province of Guzerat, eighty miles E.N.E. from Cambay, Lat. 22. 44. N.; Long. 74. E.

BASSEIN.—A sea-port town in the province of Aurungabad, separated from Salsette by a narrow strait, and situated about twenty-seven miles North from the fort of Bombay. Lat. 19. 20. N.; Long. 72. 56. E. On the thirty-first of December 1802, the important treaty between the Paishwah and the British government, which annihilated the Mahrattas as a federal empire, was signed at this place.

BAUG.—This town is situated at the confluence of the rivers Giona and Waugney, about eighty miles S.W. from Oojein, and is the head of a Pergunnah of the same name. Lat. 22. 26. N.; Long. 74. 54. E. The whole territory of Baug is a wild hilly tract, in which the difficulty of irrigating the soil renders the Rubbee or dry crop of no importance. It is for the most part inhabited by Bheels, whose restless habits are adverse to industry. In the town of Baug there are two furnaces for smelting iron, the ore of which is procured from the neighbouring hills, but the quantity produced does not exceed sixty pounds per day, which is afterwards worked into ploughshares and other implements.

Baug is famous for the excavated temples in its vicinity.

Baug is subordinate to Sindia, and in 1820 was rented for 9000 rupees per annum by Ram Row Pundit, from Maun Singh Row Pattunkur, to whom Sindia had assigned it.

BEEJAGHUR.—A large hill-fort, situated among the Satpoorah range of hills, and was in ancient times the capital of the province of Nemaur. Lat. 21. 36. N.; Long. 75. 30. E. The modern district of Beejaghur took its name from this fortress, which, however, has long been neglected; and Kurgoon is now considered the principal town, being the residence of the manager on the part of the Holkar family.

With the exception of the small district of Burwannee, the Circar of Beejaghur comprises nearly the whole of Southern Nemaur. In 1796 it yielded a revenue of 150,000 rupees, but in 1820 it only amounted to 50,000 rupees.

BEIRSEAH.—A town in the province of Malwa, which in 1820 contained 3000 houses, twenty-four miles North of Bhopal. Lat. 23. 40. N.; Long. 77. 31. E. It is the head of a Pergunnah of the same name, nearly thirty miles in length, and twenty in breadth, and in 1820 contained 315 villages, and yielded to the Raja of Dhar, the proprietor, a revenue of 77,445 rupees. The Salunkee Rajpoots occupy a tract in Beirseah extending along the right bank of the Parbutty, which in 1820 nominally contained 144 villages, but of these one half were deserted and in ruins, and only to be discovered by the large trees that marked their former sites. The face of the country is, in general, covered with jungle; the cultivation being confined to the small spots in the neighbourhood of the inhabited villages.

BHILSA.—A large town belonging to Sindia, situated on the Eastern side of the Betwa river near its junction with the Bess, thirty-two miles North-east from Bhopal. Lat. 23. 33. N.; Long. 77. 55. E. It is surrounded by a stone wall, and in 1820 contained 5000 houses. Judging from the increase of revenue, great improvement must have taken place in this town and district, for in 1817 Kundee Row paid a rent of only 40,000 rupees, which in 1820 had increased to three lacs and a half. See also Vol. I. page 11.

BHOJPOOR.—Described in the text, Vol. I. page 12.

BHOPAL.—The capital of a small independent state, which forms the exact boundary of the old Hindu province of Malwa, one gate being within its boundaries and the other in Gondwarra. Lat. 23. 17. N.; Long. 77. 30. E. The surrounding country is an uneven jungly tract, but the soil is generally fertile, more especially in the valleys, and it is well watered by numerous streams, of which the Betwa is the most considerable. In 1820, the whole principality comprehended 1571 Jaghire and Khyrat (Charity), and 2559 Khalsa, or crown, villages, of which last 714 were uninhabited.

The town of Bhopal is surrounded by a stone wall, but presents a ruinous appearance, notwithstanding it is the residence of the Nabob Foujdar Khan. On the outside is a suburb equally decayed, and on the South-west a Ghurry, or native fortification, built on the solid rock, with a stone wall and square towers, all much dilapidated. Under the South-west angle of this fort is a large tank, formed by an embankment at the confluence of several streams, one mile and a half in breadth, and extending Westward four miles and a half, whence issues the river Bess. On the East of the city there is a smaller tank, having two dams across it, and extending in length from North to South about two miles, the source of the small river Patra. See also Vol. I. pages 12 and 349, and Vol. II. 230 and 241.

BHOPAWUR.—A ruinous town of 125 houses belonging to Sindia, and rented, with the lands attached, to the Raja of Amjherra. Lat. 22. 37. N.; Long. 75. 5. E.; 1836 feet above the level of the sea. In 1820 only five villages were inhabited, and the revenue produced was about 2000 rupees.

BHURTPOOR.—A fortified city in the province of Agra, thirty-one miles West by North from the city of Agra. Lat. 27. 17. N.; Long. 77. 23. E. The Raja of Bhurtpoor is one of the principal chieftains of the Jaut tribe, and the

town is celebrated for the memorable siege it sustained in 1805, against the British army under Lord Lake. It still continues the capital of a petty Native state, whose territories occupy an area of about 5000 square miles. Bhurtpoor is included among the members of the confederation under the protection of the British government.

BICANERE.—The capital of a Rajpoot principality, situated in the great desert of Ajmeer or Rajpootana, about 260 miles West by South from the city of Delhi. Lat. 27. 57. N.; Long. 73. 2. E.

BOONDEE.—A large town in the province of Ajmeer, situated towards the South-eastern extremity of the Harrowtee division. Lat. 25. 28. N.; Long. 75. 30. E. It is at present the capital of a petty state, the dominions of which occupy an area of about 2500 miles, mostly recovered from Holkar by the British, under whose protection Boondee ranks as an efficient member of the general federation of Hindustan.

BUDNAWUR.—A town in the province of Malwa, which in 1820 contained 734 houses. Lat. 23. 2. N.; Long. 75. 17. E.; thirty-one miles North of Dhar. It is the head of a Pergunnah of the same name, which at the above date comprehended 150 villages, and a population of 31,119 persons. Of these villages, twenty-two belong to the Dhar state, and the remainder to twelve Rajpoot families, tributary to the chief of the principality, but each independent within his own limits.

The town of Budnawur is surrounded by a mud wall in bad repair, and there is also a fort where the Mundlovee resides. In 1820 the town and district afforded a revenue of 92,271 rupees, which was on the rise, as the villages were flourishing and the population increasing.

BUNDELCUND.—A large district in the province of Allahabad, situated principally between the 24th and 26th degrees of North Latitude. It was ceded to the British government in 1804 by the Paishwah, in lieu of certain dis-

tricts in the Deckan, and on its acquisition was formed into the jurisdiction of a Judge and Magistrate, subordinate to the Benares Court of Circuit. In 1814 the estimated revenue collections were 2,885,430 rupees, besides which, within its limits, there are many petty Native chieftains, who pay a moderate contribution for protection.

BURNUGGUR.—See NOLYE.

BURWANNEE.—A large town South of the Nerbudda, the residence of Raja Mohun Singh. Lat. 22. 4. N.; Long. 74. 58. E. It is surrounded by a double wall, with a ditch to the outer one, and has a Ghurry and palace, the latter of which has six stories, but the place is generally in a ruinous condition. The district of Burwannee extends along the South bank of the Nerbudda, and may be roughly estimated at sixty-five miles in length, by forty-five in breadth, a great proportion of which is covered with jungle and in a complete state of desolation; but of this space the Satpoorah range of hills occupies a considerable extent. The table-land of this elevated tract, which is interspersed with many pleasant valleys, comprehends the divisions of Borut and Nirvallee, which formerly contained 82 flourishing towns and villages, but of these in 1820 only the vestiges remained. At that date the Burwannee district contained six Kusbahs, and 126 villages, of which only forty-seven were inhabited, and the gross revenue of the whole was 16,039 rupees.

CAMBAY.—An ancient city in the province of Guzerat, situated at the upper part of a gulf of the same name. Lat. 22. 21. N.; Long. 72: 48. E. When Ahmedabad, the capital of an independent and opulent monarchy, flourished, Cambay was its sea-port, and enjoyed great commercial prosperity; but it decayed with its metropolis, and is now much reduced. It is at present possessed by an hereditary prince, under the protection of the British government, with the title of Nabob; but his territory is small and revenue insignificant.

CANDEISH.—This is one of the small Soubahs formed during the reign of Akber from conquests made South of the Nerbudda. It then occupied the space between Malwa on the North, Berar on the East, and Ahmedabad (afterwards *Aurungabad*) on the West and South; but being a new acquisition, its boundaries have ever since greatly fluctuated. It is one of the original Mahratta countries, and remarkably strong, being studded all over with natural fortifications. The ancient capital was Boorhanpoor, but in modern times Asseerghur has attained that pre-eminence. By the treaty of 1818, the whole of Holkar's dominions in this province were ceded to the British; but much trouble was experienced in expelling the Arab mercenaries, who had established themselves in the country, and obtained a paramount influence over most of the Native chiefs.

CHANDORE.—A fortified town of considerable size and strength in the province of Candeish, eighty-five miles W. N. W. from Aurungabad. Lat. 20. 19. N.; Long. 74. 19. E. It commands one of the best passes into Candeish.

CHENDAREE.—A large district in the province of Malwa, where it occupies an extent of country in the North-east corner, ninety miles from East to West, and seventy from North to South. The towns of most note are Ragooghur, Seronge, Khimlassa, and Eesaughur; and the principal rivers the Sind and Betwah. In 1820 it produced a revenue of above five lacs of rupees to its Zemindar, Raja Murdun Singh, a tributary to Dowlet Row Sindia.

Chendaree, whence the name of the district originates, is described as a strong hill-fort, with an extensive Pettah, but both undergoing a rapid decay. Lat. 24. 32. N.; Long. 78. 10. E.; forty-eight miles N. N. E. from Seronge.

CHITTORE.—A town in the province of Ajmeer, situated on the Beeruch river, at the base of a strongly fortified hill.

Lat. 24. 52. N.; Long. 74. 45. E. The hill on which the fort stands is of considerable height, and six miles in length from North to South. At the latter extremity is a small hill unconnected with the other, which would completely cover an attacking army from the fire of the fort and its defences in this quarter, nor does it appear to be flanked by any work visible from the outside. The hill is also of easy access from the Southward. Chittore is the head of a Pergunnah belonging to the Rana of Odeypoor, who is named indifferently Rana of Chittore, Mewar, or Odeypoor.

CONCAN.—A large district in the province of Beejapoor, of which it occupies the whole sea-coast, situated between the 15th and 18th degrees of North latitude. In length it may be estimated at 220 miles, by 35, the average breadth; and in 1818 was definitively taken possession of by the British government.

CUMBHERE.—A town belonging to the Bhurtpoor Raja, in the province of Agra, ten miles West from the city of Bhurtpoor. Lat. 27. 17. N.; Long. 77. 14. E.

CUNDWAH.—A town belonging to Sindia, in the small province of Nemaur, which in 1820 contained 800 houses. Lat. 21. 53. N.; Long. 76. 25. E.; forty miles North from Boorhanpoor. It stands in an open plain, and is surrounded by a good mud wall about fifteen feet high, and has a large tank to the Northward, whence issues a stream which flows to the Eastward. The Pergunnah attached to Cundwah comprehends an area of 580 square miles, which in 1820 contained 276 villages; but of these not more than 139 were inhabited.

CUTCH.—A small province of India, of which it occupies the South-western extremity, being bounded on the West by the most Eastern branch of the river Indus.

DACCA.—The modern name for the Eastern subdivision of the Bengal province, of which the city of Dacca is the present capital. Lat. 23. 42. N.; Long. 90. 17. E.

DECKAN.—A Sanscrit term signifying the South; but which, in modern times, has been used to designate the large division of Hindustan, situated between the Nerbudda and Krishna rivers, and bounded on the East by the Bay of Bengal, and on the West by the Arabian sea.

DEEG.—A town and fortress belonging to the Bhurtpoor Raja, in the province of Agra, fifty-seven miles North-west from the city of Agra. Lat. 27. 30. N.; Long. 77. 12. E. In 1805, General Frazer destroyed Holkar's infantry and artillery under the walls of this place.

DELHI.—The ancient capital of Hindustan, under the Hindu, Patan, and Moghul dynasties, and still the residence of the present nominal Emperor, Akber the Second. Lat. 28. 41. N.; Long. 77. 5. E.

DEWASS.—A town in the province of Malwa, which in 1820 contained 1187 inhabited houses and 5930 souls. Lat. 22. 59. N.; Long. 76. 10. E. It is the capital of a Pergunnah, which contains 178 villages and 5515 houses; besides 20 villages belonging to the chief of Ragooghur. The town is situated thirteen miles and a half due North of Semlia, and has a good tank on the Eastern side. Two miles farther Eastward is another small tank, the source of the little Kali Sind river. See also Vol. I. p. 112. and Vol. II. p. 239.

DEWLA (named also *Pertaubghur Dewla.*)—A fortified town in the province of Ajmeer, the residence of the Raja of Pertaubghur. Lat. 24. 2. N.; Long. 74. 44. E.; 1770 feet above the level of the sea. The surrounding country is extremely rugged and jungly, and the trees are of considerable growth. The town contains some well-built stone houses. See also Vol. I. p. 19.

DEYPAULPOOR.—A town and pergunnah in the province of Malwa, belonging to Holkar, which in 1820 contained 1035 houses. Lat. 22. 50. N.; Long. 75. 35. E.; twenty-four miles N. W. by W. from Indore. It has a large tank on the Eastern side, and from this place roads lead

to Indore, Oojein, Dhar, Nolye, &c. At the above date the Pergunnah of Deypaulpoor contained 7489 houses, and yielded a revenue (including the town) of 100,000 rupees.

DHAMONEE.—A fortified town belonging to the British government in the province of Guzerat. Lat. 24. 11. N.; Long. 78. 50. E. The town and fort are completely environed by water from a rivulet which runs on the South side, and it is strengthened by a square citadel on the East, and a tank on the West.

DHAR.—An ancient city in the province of Malwa. Lat. 22. 35. N.; Long. 75. 24. E.; 1908 feet above the level of the sea.

The district of Dhar contains about four hundred square miles, and, when properly cultivated, yields almost every tropical production, and amongst others opium. It comprehends 179 villages, 25 of which are situated in the wild and hilly tracts, and inhabited by Bheels. In 1820 the number of inhabited houses was 7573, and its population about 37,865 souls, in the proportion of one Mahomedan to sixteen Hindus.

The city of Dhar appears at one period to have covered a great extent of ground, and is said to have contained 20,000 houses. In 1820 the number did not amount to 5000; but the population was then rapidly increasing. In length it may be three-fourths of a mile, by half a mile in breadth, and is only surrounded by a mud wall; the interior, however, contains some good buildings, and is watered by eight large and two small tanks. The fort is entirely detached from the city, standing on a rising ground about forty feet above the plain. The walls are about thirty feet high, and fortified with round and square towers. Dhar is the head of a petty State, and the residence of the Raja, Ramchunder Puar, whose palace is substantially built of stone. In 1820 his revenue amounted to 125,000 rupees per annum. See also Vol. I. p. 11. 97. and Vol. II. p. 231 and 239.

DHURRUMPOOREE.—A decayed town in the district of Nemaur, within the Dhar territories, situated on the North bank of the Nerbudda river. Lat. 22. 10. N.; Long. 75. 26. E.

The Pergunnah of Dhurrumpooree formerly contained 84 villages; but in 1820 only 34, containing 1223 houses, were inhabited; 25 by Mahomedans, and 1198 by Hindus. The town seems to have experienced a still more rapid decay: in 1820 it was reduced to 84 houses; whereas twenty years ago it is said to have contained 10,000.

DOHUD (*Do-hud*, two frontiers.)—This place stands on the common boundary of Malwa and Guzerat, at the North-east entrance of the Barreah jungle, which extends thirty coss, nearly to Godra, yet the road through it leading into Guzerat is the best and most frequented. Lat. 22. 55. N.; Long. 74. 20. E.

The town is of considerable extent, the houses well built, and the bazaar abundantly supplied both with grain and water. It is in consequence much frequented by the traders of the interior, being a thoroughfare for the inland traffic between the provinces of Upper Hindustan and Malwa, with Baroda, Broach, Surat, and other large commercial towns of Guzerat. It is also of considerable importance on account of its position, which commands the principal pass in Guzerat from the North-east. The present fort of Dohud was a Caravansera at the Eastern extremity of the town, said to have been built by Aurungzebe. It is 450 feet square, and has two strong gates, one on the North and another on the South, and the interior contains a mosque, two wells, and other handsome structures, all of excellent workmanship and durable materials.

DOONDAR.—See Vol. I. p. 61.

DOONGURPOOR.—The capital of a small principality in the province of Guzerat, ninety-five miles North-east of

Ahmedabad. Lat. 23. 48. N.; Long. 73. 50. E. It is at present under the British protection. See also Vol. I. p. 504.

DUAB.—In Hindustan this name is used to designate any tract of country situated between two rivers; but, practically, the term is usually restricted to the countries between the Krishna and Tungabudra rivers, and to the Southern portion of the territory included between the Ganges and the Jumna, at present wholly possessed by the British government, and subdivided into the districts of Furruckabad, Kanoje, Etaweh, Korah, Cusrah, and Alahabad.

DUBBOY.—An ancient town in Guzerat, and formerly the capital of a large division of that province. Lat. 22. 9. N.; Long. 73. 25. E.; thirty-eight miles North-east of Broach. The remains of fortifications, gates, and temples, still visible, indicate a former state of great magnificence.

DUG.—A considerable town in the province of Malwa, which in 1820 contained 2000 houses. Lat. 24. — N.; Long. 76. 1. E.; fifty-two miles North of Oojein. It is the head of a Pergunnah at present belonging to Zalim Singh, the old regent of Kotah. In 1796 it yielded a revenue of 100,000 rupees per annum, and in 1820 had declined to 2500.

DWARACA.—A town and celebrated temple, situated at the Western extremity of the Guzerat peninsula. Lat. 22. 15. N.; Long. 60. 7. E. This is one of the holy places of the Hindus, and much frequented by pilgrims; but its inhabitants have for ages been noted for their piratical habits, which, after repeated warnings, compelled the British government to take possession of the temple and fort. It has, however, subsequently been transferred to the custody of the Guickwar.

EIRWASS (or *Airwass.*)—A town in the province of Malwa, twenty-six miles W. N. W. of Hindia. Lat. 22. 31. N.; Long. 76. 33. E.

ELLORA.—A village in the province of Aurungabad, near the city of Dowletabad. Lat. 19. 57. N.; Long. 75. 25. E. Remarkable for the number and magnitude of Hindu excavated temples that have been discovered in its vicinity.

FURRUCKABAD.—A large city of Upper Hindustan, the principal town of a district in the Duab of the same name. Lat. 27. 24. N.; Long. 79. 27. E. Before the acquisition of the Duab by the British, it was the capital of a small principality surrounded by the dominions of the Nabob of Oude, to whom the Patan chief of Furruckabad was tributary; but in 1802 the civil and military possession of this territory being transferred to the British government, a pension of 180,000 rupees per annum was assigned to the latter in lieu of all claims on the revenue. In 1811 Furruckabad contained 14,999 houses, and the inhabitants were estimated to exceed 66,000.

FUTTYGHUR.—The citadel of Bhopal is thus named.

GAGROON.—A town in the province of Malwa, forty-eight miles South-east from Kotah. Lat. 24. 37. N.; Long. 76. 16. E.

GAWELGHUR.—A strong fortress in the province of Berar, situated on a high and rocky hill, in the midst of the range of mountains which extends between the sources of the Tapti and Poornah rivers. Lat. 21. 22. N.; Long. 77. 24. E.; fifteen miles North-west from Ellichpoor.

GAYA.—A town in the province of Behar, the capital of a district also named Behar. Lat. 24. 49. N.; Long. 85. E.; fifty-five miles South from Patna. It is principally remarkable as having been the birth-place or residence of the great prophet and legislator of the Buddhists, and is in consequence annually resorted to by an immense concourse of pilgrims, on whose piety a duty is levied by the British government, which in 1815 amounted to 182,876 rupees net revenue.

GOA.—A town situated in the Southern portion of the Concan, and the capital of the Portuguese possessions in

India; which, besides Goa, are Damaun, Diu, Dhelli on the island of Timor, and Macao in China. Lat. 15. 30. N.; Long. 74. 2. E.

GOHUD.—The capital of a small principality in the province of Agra, under the protection of, and tributary to the British government. Lat. 26. 24. N.; Long. 78. 20. E.; twenty-two miles North-east of Gualior.

GONDWARRA.—A large province in the Deckan, extending from the 18th to the 25th degrees of North lat.; but the district here referred to is principally situated along the Southern bank of the Nerbudda river, and until 1818 formed part of the Nagpoor dominions. See also Vol. I. page 31.

GUALIOR.—A strong fortress in the province of Agra, the modern capital of Dowlet Row Sindia. Lat. 26. 15. N.; Long. 78. 1. E.; seventy miles South from the city of Agra.

GUNGRAUR.—A considerable town in the province of Malwa, the head of a Pergunnah of the same name, which in 1820 contained 1500 houses. Lat. 23. 56. N.; Long. 75. 41. E.; 1498 feet above the level of the sea. This place formerly belonged to the Holkar family, but by the treaty of Mundissor, in 1817, was given to Zalim Singh, the Regent of Kotah. It is supplied with water from wells, and also from the Kali Sind river.

GUNNOORGHUR.—A town in the province of Malwa, thirteen miles North-west from Hussingabad. Lat. 22. 50. N.; Long. 77. 34. E.

GURROTE.—A small town belonging to Holkar, in the province of Malwa, which in 1820 contained 500 houses. Lat. 24. 20. N.; Long. 75. 43. E. It is the head of a Pergunnah, which, at the date above mentioned, contained 128 villages, and yielded a revenue of from 20,000 to 25,000 rupees.

GUZERAT.—A province of Hindustan, formerly the seat of an independent kingdom, situated in the Western

quarter, and principally between the 21st and 24th parallels of North latitude. On the North it is bounded by Ajmeer, on the South by Aurungabad, on the East it has Malwa and Candeish, and to the West portions of Mooltan, Cutch, and the sea. In length it may be estimated at 300 miles, by 170, the average breadth. The South-western extremity of this province has the shape of a peninsula, formed by the gulfs of Cutch, Cambay, and the Indian ocean; and, indeed, for a short period during the height of the rains, owing to the overflowing of a great morass named the Runn, actually becomes an island. At present the whole of this large and populous province is subordinate to the British government, and the Guickwar, the territories of the two states being much intermixed. The principal towns are Ahmedabad (the ancient capital), Surat, Broach, Cambay, Baroda (the Guickwar's capital), and Kaira.

HARROWTEE.—A small province in the ancient Soubah of Ajmeer, the boundaries of which are—on the North Kurrowlee, on the South the Muckundra hills which separate it from Malwa, on the East Dandair, and on the West Mewar. Harrowtee is nearly on a level with Malwa, which it resembles in its general features, as well as in its animal and vegetable productions. It is well peopled, and possesses a fine black soil, highly cultivated, and abundantly watered by the Kali Sind, Parbutty, Chumbul, &c. which within its limits attain a considerable size. The principal towns are Kotah, Boondee, and Jalra-patun. See also Vol. I. p. 19.

HIMALAYA (or, *the abode of snow.*)—The stupendous range of mountains which separate Hindustan from Tibet, and form its proper boundary on the North, is thus named. The highest of the snowy peaks, within the limits of Captain Hodson and Lieutenant Herbert's survey, appears to be 25,589 feet, and the lowest 16,043 above the level of the sea; but altogether there are above

twenty peaks more elevated than Chimborazo, the loftiest summit of the Andes.

HINDIA.—A town and fortress situated on the South bank of the Nerbudda, where it is about 1000 yards broad. Lat. 22. 26. N.; Long. 77. — E. It is the head of a district belonging to Dowlet Row Sindia, but in 1820 was in possession of the British. The fort of Hindia commands several ghauts or fords across the Nerbudda.

HINGLAISGHUR.—A fortress in the province of Malwa, belonging to the Holkar family, eighty-five miles North from Oojein. Lat. 24. 23. N.; Long. 75. 57. E.

HURN PAHL (or, *the Stag's Leap.*)—A rapid in the Nerbudda, thirteen miles below Chiculda. The river is here 200 yards broad, but obstructed by these large masses of rock, rising about eleven feet above the ordinary level of the water, leaving between them three channels, through which the current rushes with much violence. According to fabulous tradition, a deer, being at one time hard pushed, sprang across from rock to rock at three bounds, and hence the name originated.

HURRIANNA.—A large division of the Delhi province, situated principally between the 28th and 29th degrees of North latitude. Although situated on the verge of the desert, it is celebrated for its verdure (probably by comparison), whence the name originates. Until its acquisition by the British government in 1809, it was possessed by predatory Rajpoot tribes, whose turbulent habits kept the country in a state of desolation; but it has ever since enjoyed tranquillity, and the productions of agriculture have experienced a rapid increase.

HUSSINGABAD (properly *Hoshung-abad.*)—A considerable town in Gondwarra, situated on the South side of the Nerbudda. Lat. 22. 43. N.; Long. 77. 43. E. The bed of the Nerbudda is here much broken, and about 900 yards broad; but there are thirteen fords across within fourteen miles of the town. The best is at Goondree,

only three miles and a half East, and there is a good carriage road to it. All the fords near Hussingabad become passable in the latter part of December or beginning of January; in October the depth of water, in the shallowest parts near the town, is between five and six feet, and the water is then remarkably sweet.

Hussingabad is the capital of a large Pergunnah, belonging to the British government, and, being the key to this quarter of the Deckan, is a permanent station for a military detachment; but in 1820, although the houses covered an extensive surface, the town was but thinly populated.

HYDERABAD.—The capital of a large province of the same name, and of the Nizam's dominions. Lat. 17. 15. N.; Long. 78. 35. E.

INDORE.—A city in the province of Malwa, the residence and capital of Mulhar Row Holkar. Lat. 22. 42. N.; Long. 75. 50. E.; 1998 feet above the level of the sea. This place, as a metropolis, is but small and of modern date; the former capital of the district, prior to the Mahomedan dynasty, having been Kumpail, eighteen miles South-east of Indore, which is now dwindled to insignificance. Old Indore was a village, the site of which having pleased Alia Bhye (who encamped there after the death of Mulhar Row), she built a new city, on the opposite bank of the Kutkee stream, which flowed past, and directed the Amildar of the district to remove there from Kumpail; but she all her life continued to prefer for her own residence the more sacred city of Mhysir.

In 1820, the district of Indore contained, exclusive of the city, 10,786 houses and 41,162 inhabitants. In 1796, the revenue amounted to 250,000 rupees; in 1814, to only 50,000; which, since the treaty of Mundissor, has increased to 90,000 rupees. See also Vol. I. p. 11.

ISLAMNAGUR.—A town and Pergunnah in the province of Malwa, which, although only five miles North from the

city of Bhopal, belonged to Sindia; but in 1818, through the mediation of the British government, were obtained by exchange for the Nabob of Bhopal.

JABOOAH.—A town in the small province of Rath, the capital of the petty principality of Raja Bhugwunt Singh, to which it communicates its name. Lat. 22. 46. N.; Long. 74. 39. E. This place is beautifully situated in a rich valley, at the base of a range of high mountains. The roads throughout the Jabooah territories are tolerably good, the country well watered, but the hills are covered with low jungle. The greater part of the inhabitants consist of the more civilized classes of the Bheel race. See also Vol. I. p. 46 and 507.

JALRA PATUN.—See PATUN.

JAULNA.—A town in the province of Aurungabad, and the capital of a small district belonging to the Nizam. Lat. 19. 52. N.; Long. 76. 8. E. It has for some years been the head-quarters of a British force.

JAUM.—A small town, with a stone ghurry, or citadel, in the province of Malwa, which in 1818 was ceded by Holkar to the British government, and converted into a depôt for the force stationed at Mhow. Lat. 22. 23. N.; Long. 75. 49. E; thirty-two miles South of Indore, and sixteen of Mhow. The Jaum Ghaut is a mile and a half in length and very steep, and, owing to its sharp turns, unfit for wheeled carriages when laden. It is, however, much frequented by travellers from the South, being the most direct route into Malwa; and here a duty is levied by Holkar's government on the passengers and merchandize. The crest of the Jaum Ghaut is 2328 feet above the level of the sea.

JAWUD.—A large town in the province of Ajmeer or Rajpootana, which in 1820 contained 5000 houses. Lat. 24. 36. N.; Long. 74. 58 E.; 1410 feet above the level of the sea. It is surrounded by a stone wall, and has good gateways, but is of no strength whatever, although

the head of a Pergunnah of 133 villages, belonging to Dowlet Row Sindia.

About fifty years ago Jawud was taken from Rana Ulsee of Odeypoor, by the grandfather of the Ex-Paishwah, who subsequently gave it to Madhajee Sindia, from whom it was transferred to his paymaster Jewah Dada, with whom and his descendants it remained until 1818. It was then held by Jeswunt Row Bhow, one of Sindia's principal commanders, who proving refractory, the place was stormed by the army under General Brown, but afterwards restored to Dowlet Row Sindia.

JEYPOOR.—A Rajpoot principality in the province of Ajmeer, situated near the Eastern boundary, between the 26th and 28th degrees of North latitude. In length the Jeypoor dominions have been estimated at 150 miles by 70 from East to West, and under proper management are capable of yielding above eighty lacs of rupees per annum.

The city of Jeypoor (or *Jeynagur*) stands in Lat. 26. 55. N.; Long. 75. 37. E.; about 150 miles S. S. W. from Delhi.

JOBUT.—A small town in the petty province of Rath, the residence of a Hindu Chief.

JOUDPOOR.—An extensive Rajpoot principality in the province of Ajmeer, of which it occupies the central portions, mostly situated between the 25th and 27th degrees of North latitude. The ancient name was Marwar, Joudpoor being a mere subdivision of that large district, and its Raja is occasionally named the Rhattore or Marwar Raja. The territories of this potentate are very extensive; but the boundaries quite undefined, including part of the great desert that extends to the Indus.

Joudpoor, the nominal capital, stands in Lat. 26. 18. N.; Long. 73. 49. E. But this quarter of Hindustan has been so imperfectly explored, that little is known respecting it.

JOWRAH.—A small town in Malwa, the capital of a Pergunnah belonging to Ghuffoor Khan. Lat. 23. 38. N.; Long. 75. 11. E.; 1437 feet above the level of the sea. In 1820 the Pergunnah of Jowrah contained 73 inhabited villages, 4886 houses, and 20,410 persons, of which last 3551 belonged to the town.

JUGGERNAUTH.—A celebrated place of Hindu worship and pilgrimage, on the sea-coast of Orissa and the Bay of Bengal, esteemed the most sacred of all their sanctuaries. Lat. 19. 49. N.; Long. 85. 54. E.

JUNNEER.—A town and fortress of great natural strength, the capital of a district of the same name in the province of Aurungabad, forty-eight miles North from Poona. Lat. 19. 12. N.; Long. 74. 10. E. It was captured during the late war, and at present belongs to the British government.

KANTUL.—A small province, bounded on the North by Mewar, on the South by Bagur, on the East by Mundissor, and on the West by Banswarra. In length about fifty-four miles, and from twelve to twenty-six miles in breadth. It is a fine level country, similar to Malwa, with the same elevation above Bagur, whence there is an ascent. All the streams run into the Mhye, which flows at a short distance from the Southern frontier. The animal and vegetable productions are, in general, the same as those of Malwa, and the trade principally a transit one from Malwa, Mewar, and Upper Hindustan, to Guzerat, Kattywar, and Cutch, by the Doongurpoor and Lunawarra passes. The chief town, Pertaubghur, is the residence of the Rajpoot Prince, to whom the district belongs; but he also possesses a small tract of country below the Ghauts. See also Vol. I. p. 18.

KATCHRODE.—A city in Malwa, which in 1820 contained about 10,000 houses. Lat. 23. 25. N.; Long. 75. 20. E.; 1638 feet above the level of the sea. It has a large and well-supplied bazaar, and is the capital of a Pergunnah belonging to Dowlet Row Sindia.

KATTYWAR.—This appellation is frequently applied by the Natives to the whole Guzerat peninsula, although in reality it only occupies a portion of the interior. It is mostly possessed by the British government and the Guickwar.

KAUTCOTE.—This was formerly a town of 2000 houses, but has in recent times so greatly declined, that in 1820 it only contained 75. Lat. N.; Long. E. It stands on an elevated spot, and a nullah in the vicinity always contains water, and has good encamping-ground on its right bank. In 1800 there were fifty iron smelting-furnaces, but in 1820 only two remained, employing about fifty-two men, women, and children. The ore is procured from near the deserted village of Mandakeiree, eight miles to the North-west, and yields about 25 per cent. of malleable iron.

KEDARNAUTH.—A Hindu temple and place of pilgrimage among the Himalaya mountains; 11,897 feet above the level of Calcutta. Lat. 30. 53. N.; Long. 79. 18. E.

KIRLAH.—A district in Gondwarra, situated among the ranges of hills which bound the valley of the Nerbudda to the South of Hussingabad.

KOOKSEE.—A town of 700 houses, surrounded by a good mud wall, and a small deep dry ditch. Lat. 22. 16. N.; Long. 74. 51. E.; twelve miles and a half South by West of Dhar. In 1820 it was the head of a Pergunnah, containing fifty-three inhabited villages.

KOTAH.—A large city in the small province of Harrowtee, situated on the right bank of the Chumbul, 150 miles South-east of Ajmeer. Lat. 25. 12. N.; Long. 75. 45. E. It has a strong stone wall, and in the centre of the city is a small hill or mound enclosed by a fortress, in which the Prince resides, said to be well built, and surrounded by a deep ditch. There is also a dry ditch round the city wall, and on the Eastern side an extensive tank, which

always contains water. The inhabitants are mostly Rajpoots and other Hindu castes, and very considerable manufactures of cloths, &c. are carried on.

Kotah is the capital of a petty State of the same name, the actual ruler of which is the Raj Rana (or Regent) Zalim Singh, one of the ablest Native chiefs of the present day, who by his prudence and policy has continued to flourish in most eventful times, although placed in the very centre of the predatory hordes. In 1820 the military of all descriptions in pay amounted to 24,900 men, well regulated and equipped, and the revenue to 47,25,000 rupees. See also Vol. I. p. 487. Vol. II. p. 230 and 240.

KUMAON.—This was a Hindu principality of some antiquity in Northern Hindustan, but in 1815 was acquired by conquest from the Nepaulese, and at present belongs to the British government.

KUMULNERE.—A fortified town in the province of Ajmeer or Rajpootana, thirty-four miles North by West from Odeypoor. Lat. 25. 10. N.; Long. 73. 36. E.

KUNDWAH.—See CUNDWAH.

KURGOON.—This was once a large and flourishing city, but is at present much decayed. Lat. 21. 50. N.; Long. 75. 40. E.; twenty-five miles South of Mhysir. It is still reckoned the capital of Southern Nemaur, and in 1820 contained 1791 inhabited houses. Kurgoon is surrounded by a ruinous wall, partly of stone and partly of brick and mud, and has a small citadel built of the same materials, with tolerably good bazaars. It is the head of a Pergunnah containing 55 villages, and the residence of the Komisdar, or Collector.

KYCHEEWARRA.—A district in the province of Malwa, situated between the 24th and 25th degrees of North latitude, and named from a tribe of Rajpoots who formerly possessed it.

LAHORE.—A large province of Upper Hindustan, situated principally between the 30th and 34th degrees of North

latitude. To the North it is bounded by Cashmere and the course of the Indus; on the South by Delhi, Ajmeer, and Mooltan; on the East it has the high mountains of Northern Hindustan; and on the West it is separated by the Indus from Afghanistan. In length it may be estimated at 340 miles by 200, the average breadth. At present it is mostly possessed by Runjut Singh, a Seik Chief, and is almost the only province of Hindustan in which the British do not possess a foot of land, or any influence directly or indirectly. Lahore, the capital city, stands on the South side of the Ravey (or Hydroates) river. Lat. 31. 36. N.; Long. 74. 3. E.

LUCKNOW.—A large city of Upper Hindustan, the capital of the King of Oude's dominions. Lat. 26. 51. N.; Long. 80. 50. E.

LUNAWARRA.—The capital of a small principality in the province of Guzerat, sixty-three miles East from Ahmedabad. Lat. 23. 8. N.; Long. 73. 43. E.

MADHOORAJPOOR.—A town in the Ajmeer province, twenty-four miles S. S. E. from the city of Jeypoor. Lat. 26. 35. N.; Long. 75. 30. E.

MAHIDPOOR.—A small town in the province of Malwa, which in 1820 contained 348 houses. Lat. 23. 29. N.; Long. 75. 46. E.; 1600 feet above the level of the sea. This place stands on the right bank of the Seepra, and is the head of a Pergunnah containing 213 villages, the property of Holkar, which then yielded a revenue of 139,340 rupees. The fort is situated on the high bank of the Seepra, but there is no ditch, nor has the wall ever been completed. The battle of Madhipoor was fought here on the 21st of December, 1817; and at present it is usually the head-quarters of Holkar's contingent horse.

MALWA.—See Chap. I.

MANDOO (or *Mandooghur*.)—The ancient capital of Malwa, but now deserted and in ruins. Lat. 22. 20. N.; Long. 75. 28. E.; 1944 feet above the level of the sea.

Its former condition is described in the body of the work. The small fort within its limits is still a place of religious resort, and occupied by some mendicants, and the remains of the Jumma musjeed, the tomb of Hussein Shah, the Palaces of Baz Bahadur, and some others, in 1820 were still fine remains, though surrounded with jungle, and fast crumbling to pieces. See also Vol. I. p. 29. and 40.

MARWAR.—A large and ancient division of Rajpootana; but in modern times forming a considerable proportion of the Joudpoor Raja's dominions, who is frequently named the Marwar Raja. Formerly the word Marwar, as including the town and fortress of Ajmeer, became almost synonymous with the name of the province.

MEIRTAH.—A town in the Ajmeer province, thirty-six miles West by North from the city of Ajmeer. Lat. 26. 38. N.; Long. 73. 49. E. This place belongs to the Joudpoor Raja, and was formerly the boundary between his territories and those of Dowlet Row Sindia.

MEWAR.—A Rajpoot district in the province of Ajmeer, of which the modern capital is Odeypoor. In Abul Fazel's time it comprehended Chittore, Coombhere, and Mandel.

MHOW.—A town in the province of Malwa, ten miles South of Indore, where are the cantonments for a body of British troops. Lat. 22. 33. N.; Long. 75. 50. E.; 2019 feet above the level of the sea.

MHYSIR.—A city in the province of Malwa, situated on the right side of the Nerbudda. In 1820 it contained 3500 houses, and a well-supplied bazaar. Lat. 22. 11. N.; Long. 75. 31. E. The fort is large and full of houses, but in bad repair. It is the chief town of a Pergunnah belonging to Holkar, and became celebrated as the residence of Alia Bhye, who built several beautiful temples at this place. Formerly Cholie was the head of the district; but since Alia Bhye fixed her residence here, Mhysir assumed that rank, and still retains it. See also Vol. I. p. 15.

MORADABAD.—A district in the Delhi province, formerly possessed by the Rohillahs, but now by the British government. The town of Moradabad stands in Lat. 28. 51. N.; Long. 78. 42. E.; forty-eight miles North-west from Bareily.

MUCKUNDRA.—A village in the province of Malwa, thirty-two miles S. S. E. from Kotah. Lat. 24. 47. N.; Long. 76. 4. E. The Mokundra hills, where this village stands, mark the boundaries of the Malwa province, and the small province of Harrowtee, formerly included in the division of Ajmeer.

MULHARGHUR.—A town in the province of Malwa, sixteen miles North from Mundissor. Lat. 24. 17. N.; Long. 75. 8. E.

MULLIGAUM.—A town and strong fortress in the province of Aurungabad, situated on the Moosy river, just above its confluence with the Girna, seventy-five miles North-west from the city of Aurungabad. Lat. 20. 31. N.; Long. 74. 36. E.

MUNASSA.—A considerable town, which in 1820 contained 1030 houses, and a good bazaar. Lat. 24. 29. N.; Long. 75. 15. E.; 1440 feet above the level of the sea. It belongs to Holkar, and is the head of 56 villages in the Rampoora Pergunnah.

MUNDATTA.—A small town containing one hundred houses, situated on the South side of an island in the Nerbudda, and famed for the sanctity of its Pagoda. Lat. 22. 14. N.; Long. 76. 17. E. The Nerbudda here is confined between rocks, and not more than one hundred yards broad, but very deep. About three-quarters of a mile to the Eastward is a ghaut which becomes fordable in January or February; but never easily, owing to the rapidity of the stream and the large round stones in its bed.

The island of Mundatta is a hill of moderate height, and was formerly fortified, but there are now only the remains of a few gateways and old pagodas all covered

with jungle. The town stands on the slope of the hill. The neighbouring country consists of a succession of low hills, deep ravines, and water-courses, the whole covered with high thick forests, which for seven or eight miles from the river are only passable on foot. The Pagoda here is dedicated to Mahadeva; and about three-fourths of a mile East, is the sacrifice rock, called Bheercallah, whence the devotees project themselves during the feast of Cartic Jhattra.

MUNDAWUL.—A small town in the province of Malwa, seventeen miles North-west from Mahidpoor. Lat. 23. 35. N.; Long. 75. 29. E. In 1820 it contained 268 houses, and, along with the Pergunnah, was the property of Ghuffoor Khan, having been granted to him as a Jaghire by the British government. It then yielded a revenue of 73,282 rupees.

MUNDISSOR.—A city in the province of Malwa, which in 1820 contained 3000 houses, with a large and well-supplied bazaar. Lat. 24. 3. N.; Long. 75. 7. E.; 1452 feet above the level of the sea. This place stands on the North bank of the Seu river, and belongs to Dowlet Row Sindia. In 1818 the treaty between the Holkar family and the British government was signed here. See also Vol. I. p. 11.

MUNDLEYSIR.—A small town situated on the North bank of the Nerbudda, which in 1820 contained 394 houses. Lat. 22. 12. N.; Long. 45. 30. E. The surrounding country is elevated 696 feet above the level of the sea, and is 1632 below the Jaum Ghaut of Malwa. The town is surrounded by a mud wall, and has a small well-built fort of masonry. A small British cantonment is situated close to the town, on the West. Mundleysir belongs to the British government.

MUTTRA (properly *Mathura*).—A town in the province of Agra, situated on the West bank of the Jumna, thirty miles N. N. W. from the city of Agra. Lat. 27. 31. N.;

Long. 77. 33. E. It acquired much celebrity in the Hindu mythological legends from having been the birth-place and scene of the youthful adventures of their favourite deity Krishna; in latter times it has been the head-quarters of a strong brigade of British troops.

NAGORE.—A town and large district in the province of Ajmeer; the first sixty-eight miles N. N. E. from the city of Joudpoor. Lat. 27. 8. N.; Long. 73. 33. E.

NAGPOOR.—A large town in the province of Gondwarra, the capital of the Bhoonsla Mahratta dynasty. Lat. 21. 9. N.; Long. 79. 11. E. It has generally been supposed that Nagpoor is the capital of Berar, but this is a mistake, the inhabitants considering Berar as an adjoining province, the chief town of which is Ellichpoor.

NALCHA.—This was formerly a large place, but in 1820 only contained 144 houses, having been recently repeopled in 1819. Lat. 22. 25. N.; Long. 75. 29. E.; 2022 feet above the level of the sea. It is the head of a Pergunnah of nine villages belonging to the Raja of Dhar.

NARWAR.—A town and district in the province of Agra, South of the Chumbul river, and mostly comprehended within the limits of Sindia's dominions. The town of Narwar stands in Lat. 25. 40. N.; Long. 77. 51. E.; forty miles South by West from Gualior.

NEEMUTCH.—A town in Mewar, formerly included in the province of Ajmeer, thirty-six miles South by East from Chittore. Lat. 24. 27. N.; Long. 75.— E.; 1476 feet above the level of the sea. It is the head of a Pergunnah belonging to Sindia, from which in 1820 he derived a revenue of 77,000 rupees. It contains a good bazaar, to the North-west of which is a large British cantonment.

NEMAUR.—See Vol. I. p. 13.

NEMAWUR.—A small town on the North bank of the Nerbudda, almost opposite to Hindia, which in 1820 contained 300 houses. Lat. 22. 27. N.; Long. 77.—E. It is the head of a Pergunnah belonging to Holkar.

NERBUDDA.—The Nerbudda has its source in the table land of Omerkantah, in Gondwarra, from which spot also issues the Sone, which flows towards the Bay of Bengal, so that the place is probably one of the highest in Central Hindustan. The Nerbudda pursues a Westerly course with little deviation until it falls into the sea below Broach, which lies almost due West from its source. During its course it is much obstructed by rocks, islands, shallows, and rapids, which render its navigation in most parts difficult or impracticable until it enters Guzerat. A few miles after passing Mundatta, the Nerbudda traverses the open undulating plain of Nemaur, until it again enters a rugged tract at the Hurn Pâhl, or Stag's Leap, thirteen miles below Chiculda, which continues until it leaves the hills, and flows along the champaign country of Guzerat. Below Chiculda the bed of the river becomes extremely rocky, and continues so to within about sixty miles of the sea, whence the current is moderate, and the stream navigable to the sea for small boats, and about half the distance for large ones. The whole length of its course has been estimated at seven hundred miles.

With respect to its breadth there is much variation. At Sacur to the West of Jubbulpoor it is about 600 yards in breadth; at Hussingabad 900; at Mundleysir 1200; and above and below Broach, where there are several islands, it expands frequently to three miles in breadth.

NOLYE.—A considerable town belonging to Sindia, in the province of Malwa, which in 1820 contained 1000 houses. Lat. 23. 8. N.; Long. 75. 27. E.; twenty-nine miles W.S.W. from Oojein; 1698 feet above the level of the sea. Nolye was built by Raja Nol, from whom its name originated; but its modern one is Burnuggur, the first being thought of bad omen if pronounced before breakfast. At present it is the head of a Pergunnah, from which Sindia derives 265,000 rupees per annum. See also Vol. I. page 12.

NUJIBABAD.—A town in the province of Delhi, built by Nujib ud Dowlah, with the view of attracting the commerce between Cashmere and Hindustan, ninety-five miles North-east from the city of Delhi. Lat. 29. 37. N.; Long. 78. 12. E.

NUNDERBAR.—A town belonging to the British government in the province of Candeish. Lat. 21. 25. N.; Long. 74. 18. E.; eighty-seven miles East from Surat. Nunderbar was formerly a place of greater importance than at present, the ruins of the wall being a square of two miles, but in 1820 it only contained 500 houses, surrounded by a square Ghurry, or native fort, recently constructed, and only yielded 12,000 rupees of annual revenue. A small river runs close to the town, but in the month of May there is little water in it, a deficiency of moisture being a great impediment to the agriculture of the country generally, for the soil appears to be naturally good. In the vicinity are the remains of many tombs and pagodas, indicating a former state of prosperity.

ODEYPOOR.—A town in the province of Ajmeer or Rajpootana. Lat. 24. 35. N.; Long. 73. 44. E.; 2064 feet above the level of the sea. To the West of the city is a large lake five miles in circumference, enclosed on all sides, except where the city stands, by wild and rugged hills, between which and the margin of the lake there are some villages, tombs, and gardens, with narrow slips of cultivation. A great bund or embankment, along which there are many trees, and several buildings, defends the town from any overflow of the lake.

The appearance of Odeypoor at a distant view is, from its site on a small hill, on the summit of which is the palace of the Prince, very grand and imposing; but on nearer inspection, it presents a miserable prospect of ruined and deserted houses and temples. This town is, however, rising rapidly under the protection of the British government.

OMUTWARRA.—A small district in the province of Malwa, bounded on the West by the Kali Sind river, and on the East by the Parbutty. The designation of this tract is traced from a class of inferior Rajpoots originally from Mewar, who, while the Moghul empire flourished, were proprietors of large herds of camels, from which the name (Omut) is derived. In process of time their two principal chiefs, Mohun and Purseram Singh, acquired possession of 1500 villages, which they named collectively Omutwarra; having divided them into two equal portions, they governed them under the titles of Rawul and Dewan, still retaining a strong predilection for their predatory habits. On the Mahratta conquest of Malwa, they were in their turn compelled to yield to more powerful robbers, and are now tributary, the first to Sindia, and the last to the young representative of the Holkar family.

The principal towns are Rajghur, Pautun, Nursinghur, and Kujneer. See also Vol. I. p. 514.

ONEIL.—A village situated on the East bank of the Seepra river, six miles and a half direct distance W. by S. from Gungraur.

OOJEIN.—A large town in the province of Malwa, situated on the East bank of the Seepra river. Lat. 23. 11. N.; Long. 75. 51. E.; 1698 feet above the level of the sea. The modern town is of an oblong form, surrounded by a stone wall with round towers, but the walls in many parts are now falling fast to decay. Until the recent transfer of the seat of government to Gualior, Oojein was reckoned the capital of Sindia, and is still the residence of some distinguished individuals of that Prince's family. The district of Oojein, including Tajpoor, Jeytel, Birgoodee, and Jowahirghur, yields a revenue of 280,000 rupees, nearly half of which is granted in assignments. See also Vol. I. page 10.

PANIPUT.—A town in the province of Delhi, fifty miles N. by W. from the city of Delhi. Lat. 29. 22. N.; Long. 76. 51. E. It is famous for having been the field where two

of the greatest battles ever fought in India took place, both decisive of their fate. The first happened in the year 1525 between the army of Sultan Baber, and that of the Patan emperor of Delhi, Ibrahim Lodi, in which the latter was slain and his army totally discomfited. The second in 1761, between the combined Mahomedan army, under Ahmed Shah Abdalli, the sovereign of Cabul, and that of the Mahrattas, commanded by the Bhow Sedasiva, in which the latter sustained one of the most sanguinary defeats recorded in history.

PATUN.—A town in the province of Ajmeer, fifty-three miles S.E. from Kotah. Lat. 24. 32. N.; Long. 76. 16. E. This is quite a modern town, having been built within the last twenty-five years, by Zalim Singh, Regent of Kotah, apparently after the model of Jeypoor; the streets being wide and regular, and intersecting each other at right angles. The whole is surrounded by a substantial wall eight or ten feet thick, and from twelve to fifteen high, with round bastions, on some of which light pieces of artillery are mounted. The town is well and compactly built; the population includes a large proportion of the commercial classes. On the West of Patun is a lake nearly a mile square, from which, throughout the whole year, it is abundantly supplied with water.

PERTAUBGHUR.—A large fortified town in the district or small province of Kantul. Lat. 24. 2. N.; Long. 74. 51. E.; elevated 1698 feet above the level of the sea. The surrounding country is very rugged, and much covered with jungle. This place belongs to Raja Sawut Singh, who now resides at Dewla, eight miles West of Pertaubghur, which last is the residence of his son Deep Singh, who at present conducts the affairs of the principality. In 1820, there were forty-six subordinate Rajpoot chiefs, who each kept in readiness a stipulated number of troops, which, with the Raja's own, amounted to 156 horse and 623 foot; besides infantry, not of the Rajpoot race. At the date above

mentioned, the revenue amounted to 284,313 rupees, out of which a tribute of 45,000 rupees was paid annually to the British government. See also Vol. I. page 506.

PETLAWUD.—A large town, near a stream, in the province of Malwa, the head of a Pergunnah, situated twenty-six miles S.W. from Rutlam. Lat. 23. 4. N.; Long. 74. 50. E.

POONA.—The late capital of the Mahratta empire, and, until November 1817, the residence of the Paishwahs. Lat. 18. 30. N.; Long. 74. 2. E. It now belongs to the British government.

PUNJAB *(Five-waters.)*—The flat portion of the Lahore province towards the South-west is thus named from its being traversed by five celebrated rivers; viz. the Sutleje or Hysudrus, the Beyah or Hyphasis, the Ravey or Hydroates, the Chinaub or Acesines, and the Jhylam or Hydaspes.

RAGOOGHUR.—A town in the province of Malwa, belonging to Sindia, thirty-six miles N. W. from Seronge. Lat. 24. 27. N.; Long. 77. 14. E. It is the head of the large district of Kycheewarra, which, including the town, yields a revenue of two lacs of rupees. See also Vol. I. page 463.

RAISEEN.—A large district in the South-eastern quarter of Malwa. The town of Raiseen stands in Lat. 23. 20. N.; Long. 77. 52. E.; twenty-two miles East by North from Bhopal.

RAJPOOTANA.—Another name for the large province of Ajmeer. See also Vol. I. page 330.

RAMISSERAM.—An island situated in the straits between the island of Ceylon and the continent, being only separated from the latter by a very narrow passage. Lat. 9. 17. N.; Long. 79. 26. E. The pagoda has been from remote antiquity, and still continues to be, a celebrated place of Hindu pilgrimage.

RAMPOORA.—A large town in the province of Malwa, the former residence of the Holkar family, which in 1820 contained 4000 houses. Lat. 24. 27. N.; Long. 75. 32. E.;

and elevated 1360 feet above the level of the sea. The Chittore range of mountains, which extends on the North of Rampoora, forms one of the boundaries of Malwa.

This place stands on the North bank of the Taloyce river, distant about one mile, and was a place of great note before the removal of the Holkar family to Indore. It is still the head of several Pergunnahs, comprehending about 500 villages, which in 1820 yielded a revenue of 370,000 rupees. To the N.E. there is a Hindu temple of some celebrity, which in the month of April is visited by the Hindus of Malwa.

RATH.—See Vol. I. page 17.

RATHGHUR.—A town in the province of Malwa, twenty-two miles West from Saugor. Lat. 23. 37. N.; Long. 78. 33. E. It is the head of a Pergunnah, which in 1820 belonged to Sindia, and yielded him a revenue of 10,000 rupees.

RUTLAM.—A large and well-built town in the province of Malwa, which in 1820 contained 2000 houses. Lat. 23. 19. N.; Long. 75. 5. E. Elevation above the level of the sea, 1577 feet. This place is the head of several Pergunnahs, belonging to the Raja of Rutlam, which, at the date above mentioned, yielded a revenue of 403,200 rupees, out of which a tribute of 84,000 was paid to Sindia. Eight Rajpoot dependents hold Jaghires, from 2 to 12,000 rupees annually, under the Raja, on feudal tenures, and the troops furnished by them compose the strength of his military force; but in consequence of the Raja's being considered the principal Rajpoot leader in this quarter, he receives a voluntary allegiance and occasional assistance from several other chiefs of less importance, in the West of Malwa. See also Vol. I. p. 12 and 507.

SADREE.—A town in the province of Ajmeer, belonging to the Pertaubghur Raja, fifty-six miles E. S. E. from Odeypoor. Lat. 24. 25. N.; Long. 74. 30. E.; 1782 feet above the level of the sea.

SARUNGPOOR.—A town in the province of Malwa, which in 1820 contained 2000 houses. Lat. 23. 35. N.; Long. 76. 35. E. This place stands on the East side of the Kali Sind river, and was formerly of great extent, but at present not more than one half of it is inhabited. It is the head of a Pergunnah of 55 villages, belonging to the Raja of Dewass, which in 1820 produced a revenue of 25,671 rupees. See also Vol. I. page 12.

SATPOORA HILLS.—An extensive range of hills in the province of Candeish, forming the Northern boundary of the valley of the Taptee river to about 77 deg. East Long.

SAUGOR.—A large town in the province of Malwa, ninety-two miles North-East from Bhopal. Lat. 23. 48. N.; Long. 78. 46. E. It was obtained by cession from the Paishwah, and taken possession of by the British in 1818. At present it is the head-quarters of a strong force, required to overawe this portion of Central Hindustan.

SEEPRA RIVER.—This river has its source three miles West of the small town of Tillore (Lat. 22. 36. N.; Long. 76. 4. E.) whence it pursues a Northerly course past the city of Oojein, and after being joined by many tributary streams, falls into the Chumbul twelve miles West of Gungraur. In the rainy season it frequently overflows its banks. It forms the line of demarkation between the Pergunnah of Dewass and Holkar's possessions.

SEETA MHOW.—A town in the province of Malwa, which in 1820 contained 2000 houses. Lat. 24. 2. N.; Long. 75. 26. E. It is the head of a Pergunnah, which yields an annual revenue of 150,000 rupees to the Raja of Seeta Mhow, out of which a tribute of 60,000 rupees is paid to Sindia.

SEHORE.—A large town with a good bazaar in the province of Malwa, situated on the East bank of the Saven river, twenty-two miles W. S. W. from Bhopal. Lat. 23. 13. N.; Long. 77. 11. E. It belongs to the Nabob

of Bhopal, and in 1820 was the residence of the British Agent for conducting the intercourse with that state.

SEONTE.—A town in the province of Guzerat, the capital of a small principality of the same name. Lat. 23. 12. N.; Long. 73. 54. E. It is the head of a Pergunnah, containing 186 villages, belonging to the Rana of Seonte, which in 1820 yielded him a revenue of 45,000 rupees, out of which a tribute of 7000 rupees was paid annually to Sindia. The country of Seonte is hilly, and covered with jungle, and to the South of the fort is a ghaut of considerable importance. A great proportion of the inhabitants are Bheels, who hold villages from the Rana on the old feudal tenure of furnishing troops. This petty State had long been the prey of the Pindarries and other plunderers, but now enjoys some repose.

SERINGAPATAM.—A city and strong fortress in the province of Mysore, of which, during the short-lived Mahomedan dynasty of Hyder and Tippoo, it was the capital. Lat. 12. 25. N.; Long. 76. 45. E. At present it is occupied by a British garrison.

SERONGE.—A large open town in the province of Malwa, the property of Ameer Khan. Lat. 24. 8. N.; Long. 77. 41. E. See also Vol. I. p. 12.

SHAHJEHANPOOR.—A large town in the province of Malwa, which in 1820, along with the district, yielded a revenue of 250,000 rupees per annum. Lat. 23. 26. N.; Long. 76. 20. E. This place derives its name from the Emperor Shahjehan, its founder; and in progress of time was assigned to Sindia's mother, Meenah Bhye, but subsequently given to Baiza Bhye, with whom it still remains, paying 180,000 rupees annually to the Government. See also Vol. I. p. 11.

SHUJAHALPOOR.—A town in the province of Malwa, situated on the East bank of the Jaumneer river, sixty-three miles E. N. E. from the city of Oojein. Lat.

23. 24. N.; Long. 76. 48. E. It is the head of a Pergunnah, which in 1820 yielded a revenue of 80,297 rupees. See also Vol. I. p. 11.

SONDWARRA.—A tract in the province of Malwa, long infested by a predatory race called Sondies, from whom it takes its name. It stretches from Aggur to the Chumbul, East and West, and from near Bampoora to Oojein, North and South. See also Vol. I. p. 511. Vol. II. p. 244.

SONEIL.—A small town in the province of Malwa, which in 1820 contained 4000 inhabitants. Lat. 24. 23. N.; Long. 76. 3. E. It is the head of a Pergunnah of 32 villages, belonging to Holkar, but is only surrounded by a slight wall. In 1820 both town and district were in a flourishing condition.

SUTWASS.—A town in the province of Malwa, twenty miles W. N. W. from Hindia. Lat. 22. 30. N.; Long. 76. 42. E.

TAL.—A town in the province of Malwa, belonging to Ghuffoor Khan, which in 1820 contained 641 houses. Lat. 23. 40. N.; Long. 75. 26. E. It is the head of a Pergunnah of 42 villages, which then yielded a revenue of 5328 rupees. The surrounding country is flourishing, cultivation being much encouraged by the proprietor.

TONK.—A Rajpoot town in the province of Ajmeer, which had for many years been an appendage of the Holkar family. Lat. 26. 12. N.; Long. 75. 38. E.; fifty miles South from Jeypoor. In 1818 it was ceded to the British government.

TULLUCKWARA.—A town belonging to the Guickwar, in the province of Guzerat, which in 1820 contained 300 houses. Lat. 21. 57. N.; Long. 73. 37. E. It stands on the right bank of the Nerbudda, and has a small oblong fort of masonry, enclosed on two sides by the town, but of no strength. A few horse and matchlock-men are stationed here.

WOONE.—A decayed town belonging to Holkar, in the province of Malwa, which in 1820 contained only 113 houses. Lat. 21. 50. N.; Long. 75. 32. E.; ten miles from Kurgoon. This was formerly a large city, but is at present chiefly remarkable for the numerous vestiges of Jain temples, said once to have amounted to ninety-nine: at present the remains of more than twenty may be distinctly traced, some in tolerable preservation.

From the inscriptions already discovered at Woone it appears a place of great antiquity. These bear a date about the middle of the second century of the Christian æra. The specimens of sculpture which have been brought from Woone are, perhaps, superior to any of modern workmanship in India, and prove that art to have been in an advanced state at a very remote date.

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